THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

June 21, 1947

SHANGHAI'S TRAFFIC

AN EDITORIAL

Peace Far Away In Indo-China

Caroline Cooley

Terror On The March

C. C. Liang

People's Corporation In Yunnan

Helen P. F. Shih

WAR IN INDONESIA

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 106 PRICE CNC$4,000 NUMBER 3

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Guns, Grenades

To The Editor:

To an eyewitness of the recent Wuhan University incident, the question must undoubtedly be raised as to whether China is a civilized country or not. On June 1, when thousands of soldiers arrived at the University at 3 a.m. while all the teachers and students were still in bed, 28 students and five professors were seized.

Before their departure, in order to prevent the rest of the students from rescuing their comrades, the soldiers mercilessly turned the machine guns on them for more than 10 minutes aiming at the crowd, and some also used hand grenades. Consequently three students were killed instantly.

On examining the bullets, which were taken from the bodies of the deceased, they were found to be dumdum bullets. Now, I wonder that the citizens of China do not refer this to the United Nations in protest against their mother country for such a misdemeanor.

As the students are neither pirates nor gangsters, why should the authorities on the spot be so mad as to use such a large quantity of arms and munitions to slaughter them? If there is still any justice existing in this world of ours, I sincerely hope that the murderers are brought to book and that there will be no more such nonsense hereafter.

YONG KENG.

Shanghai,
June 15, 1947.

Innocents Abroad---II

To The Editor:

The shortlived but vigorous campaign conducted by Father O'Connor and a character signing himself F. J. in your letter columns in an effort to prove that A RED IS A RED IS A RED IS A RED, etc., ad infinitum, without explaining what the color stands for in the instance of religious freedom in the Chinese Communist areas, has prompted me to unearth a statement by the late Dr. Tillson Harrison, M. D., on the subject.

Here goes Dr. Harrison's statement, in refutation of the old saw that dead men tell no tales:

"I, the undersigned, wish to state that during a several weeks' sojourn in the Communist areas of Hantan and Hsingtai, Hopeh Province, I did not see any evidence of Communist interference in the working or labors of any of the religious organizations operating in that area.

"Also, that I personally attended a meeting held by Governor or Chairman Yang in September last in Hantan, where before representatives of both Protestant and Catholic Churches, he read an official paper on the Communist attitude towards religion and religious organizations. The attitude therein expressed, in my opinion, was one of justness, fairness, consideration, tolerance, and non-interference; one exception being made, however, in the case of non-allies in the late war.

(*Signed*) "TILLSON HARRISON, M.D.,
"M.B., M.D., M.G., P.S.,
"Tor., Ore., Alta., Can.

Has it ever occurred to either Father O'Conner or his right hand neophyte F. J. that some of the religious individuals

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persecuted by the Communists in the Liberated Areas *may* have collaborated with the Japanese, or acted in a manner not altogether befitting the status of God's representatives on earth? As far as I can gather from both Father O'Connor's diatribe against the Reds and F. J.'s staunch yeas in support, this side of the question has been considered by neither. I understand that the earthly actions and behavior of fathers, brothers and sisters who have told harrowing tales of miraculous escapes have been totally ignored, it obviously being presumed that holy men and women must invariably be on the side of the angels, whatever they do. Infallible is the word.

For the benefit of F. J. specifically, I would like to point out that there is such a thing as policy even in the minds of such anarchists as the Reds. For one thing they have never denied that they believe that religion is doomed, but that does not prevent them from non-molestation of religious people today, when millions of men and women still believe in the Heavenly Father, whatever may be the reasons for this phenomenon. If people like F. J. persist in reiterating that a Red is a Red, without analyzing current policies and attitudes of the Reds to such barbarities as religion, etc., they could at least refrain from polluting valuable space in such papers as the *Review*. And at least they could let others have freedom of disbelief in the fantastic and antediluvian doctrines preached by pastors and priests, perfectly palatable about 33 A.D., but fortunately outdated by the 20th Century.

Moreover, for the benefit of those who intend to spread the Word in Communist areas, it should be emphasized that the following principle if adhered to will save one and all from persecution and molestation:

According to Catholics, all men are equal in the eyes of God, except the godless Reds;

According to the Communists, all men are equal in the eyes of the land reform, except reluctant landlords, whether Catholic or otherwise.

Remembering that "when in Rome, one should act as the Romans," I think it will not be too difficult even for Father O'Connor and F. J. to grasp the meaning of the above "syllogism."

Yours for freedom of religion *and* anti-religious propaganda.

ATHEIST.

Shanghai,
June 15, 1947.

Own Religion

To The Editor:

Your May 31 issue presents two articles of interest. "Do Reds Respect Religious Freedom?" by Patrick O'Connor, is a flagrant accusation of the misdeeds allegedly instigated by the Communists against the missionary churches in their areas. "Pattern of Urban Economy in the 'Liberated Areas'," by Vic Schneierson, is a report on the common-sense economic policy for industrial reconstruction in Chefoo under Communist administration. Diverse in topic and different in intention as the writers of these two articles are, they have a correlation.

Believe it or not, China today is in the throes of a great revolution. Things in these days of upheaval may seem too rough and crude and even obnoxious to those who don't care to understand, and who only stand aloof from the cruel realities which confront the Chinese masses. But a new birth is always accompanied by much pain and distress, so let us not be disillusioned by mere temporary and superficial phenomena, but let us look deep and broadly into the root of facts.

The cause of this revolution is the poverty and dog's life of the peasants. They desperately want food and clothes. They are frantic to possess the land that will produce these essentials for survival —and produce them securely. Constantly facing starvation and death from want, the foremost problem to the Chinese peasants is how to struggle to save their lives. In such critical moments things religious are not of paramount importance to them.

In the course of their long-endured suffering, they have formed a religion of fate of their own, behind which exists a powerful impulse to live a better life, to be freed from the yoke of serfdom. When the day comes that this strong impulse is enkindled into the furious awakening of their long suppressed and deserved human rights of living, even their old notion of fate will change profoundly.

It will be an endless dispute as to whether the doings of the peasants in Red China are always instigated by the Communists. The truth is that people are not blind fools and they know exactly what is of dire importance to them. Armed with the weapons they seized from the enemy in their brave and stubborn fight against the Japs, they will turn against anyone who threatens their basic rights of survival. They have a will and the sense of justice to meet the revolutionary environments.

Admitting that what Patrick O'Connor heard and saw during his rather brief tour are authentic facts, those mishappenings to the missionary churches are but minor incidents amidst a great surge of peasant awakening. And I, for one, don't see that those incidents which occurred in areas complicated by war conditions constitute any serious reason for "disqualifying the Communists from directing any democratic state," as Patrick O'Connor sees it. Such restricted observations in the narrow sphere of religion alone are inadequate to form a good understanding of present day China. Without a true knowledge of Chinese history, without a broad view of the more important aspects of her economic and political life, and without deep sympathy for her suffering masses, one is not qualified to praise or condemn any

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political party in this country.

It is my belief that only in the fertile soil of an abundant life realized in economic freedom can religion sow its healthy seeds and produce sound fruit. Religious freedom will never wither in a land of economic freedom. And now, side by side with that dismal picture painted by Patrick O'Conner, we have a gay one disclosed by Vic Schneierson. We sincerely believe that that political party which really launches a campaign of land reform as a step towards agrarian revival, and which pursues a democratic economic policy for industrial reconstruction, cannot do anything detrimental to the religious freedom of the people.

Besides Vic Schneierson's report, we have numerous valuable reports given by other foreign observers on the bright and hopeful scenes in the "Liberated Areas." They are the true friends of China, who have spent years of their lives traveling in the vast areas of this country, and digging deep into Chinese history and language, tackling the Chinese problems at their very bottom.

Vic Schneierson, author of another article, "One Hand On Gun, One Hand on Land," which appeared in the May 17 issue of the *Review* is also a good friend of the Chinese people. Let us hear from him often!

P. S. Y.

Chungking,
June 5, 1947.

Appreciation

To The Editor:

I have been a subscriber to your *Review* for a long time and I wish to express my appreciation of it. I find the different articles in it very interesting and helpful both for myself and for my students. I use the *Review* as supplementary reading material in my classes.

In the *Review* of April 26, I was specially interested in the article by Mr. Robert P. Martin entitled "MacArthur's Reports Gild Truth," as I thought many other people in China would find it interesting and profitable. I translated it into Chinese and had it published in the *Kwangsi Daily*, the popular newspaper of South China. I enclose herewith a copy of my translation. May I trouble you to forward it to Mr. Martin as a sign of my appreciation?

S. S. KUNG.

Kweilin, Kwangsi,
June 3, 1947.

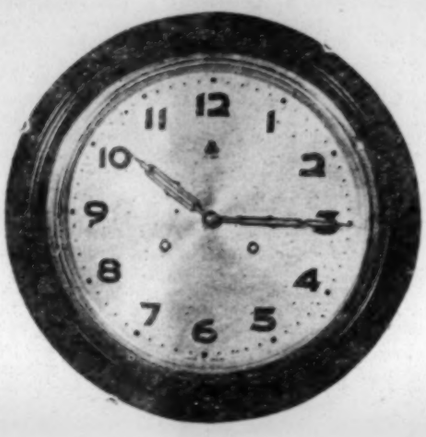
Honan Horrors

To The Editor:

We Honanese have suffered from being slaughtered by the C. P. for the last few years. My dear Editor, if you would only know the atrocities of the C. P., I shall tell you a story as follows:

An old woman, withered, aged and bent, was sitting by the curb of the North High Road leading to the north gate of the city wall of Kaifeng. Judging by her appearance she was 60 years old. Her face, wrinkled and apelike, was so small and black that it was funny to look at. Her hair was white and thin and was tossed about her head by the wind. She was wrapped in a wide ragged piece of clothing and her feet, small and bound for 50 years, seemed to refuse to carry the burden of her body. By her side were standing two children, about 10 years old, thin and pale and with sad faces. Their eyes were filled with tears which dropped on their ragged and dusty clothes. They looked like refugees.

Having heard that the C. P. was plundering Northern Honan, I was concerned about my family and anxiously eager to know the real conditions. I came up to the old woman and asked her where she came from. She raised her spiritless



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eyes and looked at me with sincerity: "I am a resident of Poyang, the district which has been occupied by the C. P. for four years." She wiped away her tears and looked around for the children. She seemed to have many words she wanted to say, but her throat was choked with emotion.

A moment later, without my asking, she continued: "Being a so-called landowner of five acres, I was robbed by the C. P. and my property and farms were confiscated. My only son, aged 25, the father of these two children, was forced to go to the front by those brutal bandits. Two years have passed and I don't know whether he is alive or dead. My daughter-in-law was also taken by the C. P. to be a 'girl soldier" of the Women's Corps, but she could not bear the insults and was afraid of being raped, so she made her escape at night. One month ago she was arrested again in my house by the C. P. who carried her away and threw her into boiling water, where she boiled to death.

"A week ago I was told that all of the landowners would be killed, one by one. I was scared for my young grandsons, my only successors, and so I fled secretly to Hwa-Hsien accompanied by the two children. Hwa-Hsien was governed by National troops, I found on my arrival. The next evening, unexpectedly, the awful tidings came that 5,000 C. P. troops would make an attack on this city. All at once there was a great stir. The magistrate and his underlings were preparing to flee, the troops were grouped in the streets preparing to set out, the policemen were not standing guard as usual. The citizens were surprised at this. About 2,000 villagers gathered at the crossroad of the street waiting to go with the Nationalist troops in order to avoid being slaughtered by the C.P.

"We had hardly managed to escape from the city when the C. P. surrounded it. Among flying bullets and shells we struggled for our lives. Several people were hit. The ground was strewn with the dead and the dying. Corpses were piled one on top of another and made little hills while the blood flowed like a river. Across the trenches, over the battlefield, we fled for our lives and finally escaped into comparative security.

"We have not had anything to eat for three days and our only desire is for a meal. I have many more things I want to say, but my stomach will not allow me!"

She ended her account with a painful sigh. Her head drooped and her eyes closed. Her face seemed to grow thinner and paler. The children standing by her side were crying for food.

I made no answer, depressed by her narrative.

Passersby came and seeing her stopped, gazed with curiosity at the three unhappy people, and then went their way with cold indifference

HSU SHIH-CHEN.

Kaifeng,
May 31, 1947.

Jungle Justice?

To The Editor:

The pathetic story excellently related to us by CASSIUS in the May 31 issue of your magazine has haunted my thoughts so painfully that I cannot but give vent to my humble feelings. In this present time of ours which to the governing is worse than a curse and to the governed utter damnation, conditions are rendered worse with the passage of the days. Every minute that is lost for peace is bringing ruin to all of us. Yet the hope of peace is remote from us while the voice of fanaticism prevails in the two belligerent camps.

All the governing party does is aggravate the wrongs committed in the past and accelerate the ruin which is sure to come if pursued with such unrelaxed diligence. Aside from the executive administration which is now, and has for a long time, been ridden with chaos and gratt, let us see how the judicial system is being administered.

I assume that justice, or rather injustice is being carried out in three ways. The first is trial in the public courts, which are by no means independent but still infinitely better than the two alternatives. The second is simply arrest, close questioning and beating in order to extract a confession. The third is what one may call a kind of jungle justice, where there is not even a trace of despotic authority. It is sheer brutality.

If an individual is so unfortunate as to incur the hatred of a ruling tyrant or a ruling gang, he will be hunted and shot by hired desperadoes under the blessed protection of a "free and democratic" government. If a group of people or students are holding a meeting or staging a parade, the notices and purposes of which are open to controversy, they will be punished by the unpopular authorities with hired gangs of the vilest and meanest description. In such a situation, the world is now persuaded to believe that the tender sprout of democracy and freedom of expression are going to be nursed and to prosper. Who believes this?

So long as justice is only deemed as an expedient and peace is regarded as subservient to the diehard interests and die-easy interests, there will certainly be no peace. But the diehard interests will then certainly die a hard death.

BRUTUS.

Peiping,
June 10, 1947.

Correction

To The Editor:

In my article entitled "China's Dyeing and Finishing Industry" which appeared in the June 3 issue of the *Review*, I wish to correct all the figures pertaining to imports for the year 1946. All these figures should have had an additional three zeros (000) appended to them.

BEN Y. LEE.

Shanghai,
June 15, 1947.

China's Jails

To The Editor:

I am quite in sympathy with your criticism on China's Courts, an editorial in the *Review* of May 3. In the May 24 issue there also appeared a complementary editorial concerning the same subject. Though both of these two articles dealt with the courts and jails in Shanghai, unfortunately the like are to be found in other cities of China.

I am herewith giving you further evidence which has been reported by the government information agency, the *Central News*, and which appeared in a vernacular paper in Kunming. The news reported that the offenders in Shian-Wei country jail (a rather small hsien in Yunnan) accused the jail official of corruption and deterioration of that jail. Briefly translated it reads:

(1) The food ration of those offenders is very small and not sufficient to keep them alive (about 0.8 catty, approximately one pound of corn for each person each day).

(2) Miscellaneous charges for newcomers and those to be released are unlawful and unreasonable. Serious punishment (of course, also unlawful) will be meted out if the offender refuses to pay.

(3) The official of the jail is an opium smoker.

I realize it might be a special case and not common to other jails in other small towns, but as a news reporter one may depict and expose those murky evils to the public so as to seek ways for improving the situation.

I would like to discuss one more subject concerning the cops and the after-curfew nightclubs, as described in your editorial of May 31. I do not agree with your idea of prolonging the hours as I do not think the free meals for those cops will thus be frustrated.

History is a mirror to the present and also to the future. I remember just one year before V-J Day a lot of American GIs were working in Kunming and cafes and clubs were open for this very purpose. The city curfew compelled these clubs to close not later than 11:30 every night, and instead of being willing to extend the time the club managers wanted the American MPs to expel the GIs from the clubs. After the work was done, the American MPs were entertained by the "house" and they left some time later, leaving empty bottles and plates on the table. I did not observe any bill rendered or paid. "It appeared to be free because the management liked them so well." Moreover, some of those American MPs "borrowed" from the clubs or cafes.

If the clubs are allowed to extend their hours and remain open all night, will it result in the managements changing their minds? Corruption and greed are one thing, while an all-night license is another. The recipe for gratitude is not simply forgetting the curfew.

JAZZ.

Kunming,
June 6, 1947.

Politics & Law

To The Editor:

The report by *Central News* that Nanking's Supreme Court has issued an order for the arrest of Chu Hsueh-fan is prima facie evidence that the Kuomintang politicians, in order to crush a political opponent, do not hesitate to exploit and damage the prestige and dignity of the judiciary. At a time when President Truman and General Marshall are expected to finance Generalissimo Chiang in his holy war against his former Communist comrades, the public in Anglo-American democratic countries should wonder how a regime can be working with and for the democracies when the independence of the courts is used as a weapon for the ruling few.

Chu Hsueh-fan, a provincial of the KMT's ruling faction, was just an ordinary postman until the party boss found that he was a good tool in the volte face policy of the KMT. Chu was handpicked by the CC agents in the anti-Comintern crusader rank and file. The KMT's official eulogy never ceased until Chu could no longer tolerate working to the detriment of the workers whom he was appointed to represent. He escaped first to Hongkong and then to America, the official reports alleged.

Since the departure of Lo Wen-kan from China's judicial service, China's courts have fallen into the hands of party politicians. The powers that agreed to abolish extraterritoriality on condition that China modernize her law administration have the right to protest against the mixing up of law with politics.

WANG KIU-TAN.

Macao,
June 5, 1947.

Photographers Shot

To The Editor:

Three days after the "rice incident"—the plundering of rice—in Hangchow, a similar incident took place here in Chengtu. On the morning of May 5, at about nine o'clock—outside the new South Gate, an argument arose between a customer and a rice dealer about the price of rice. Sympathizing with the customer and

angry with the rice dealer who tried to raise the price CNC$120,000 overnight, (it was to rise to CNC$200,000 the next day) the irrational crowd became enraged, knocked the rice dealer down and plundered all the rice in the market.

Thus the "rice incident" began and spread. All the rice markets, rice shops and godowns in the city met the same fate. Even some restaurants, after feeding many poor people, found customers going away without paying. As a result, all the garrison troops and policemen were called out and hundreds of poor people were arrested. In particular, two men suspected of belonging to the CP were shot for committing the crime of taking photographs while the plundering was going on outside of the new South Gate.

On the same day as the so-called "rice incident" in Chengtu, another such event took place in Wuhu. On May 8, the same thing even spread to the door of our capital, Nanking. What a pitiful picture this series of "rice incidents" presents.

Several days ago, the professors of the Universities of Honan and Shantung struck for a raise in their low salaries which were not able to keep pace with the speedy upsurge of prices after the issuance of CNC notes of $10,000 denomination. . Now strikes of every kind are going on everywhere in China. From any angle we see clearly that we are facing a most critical period and rushing to the edge of economic disaster which is so serious that it threatens to endanger our very lives.

There are three things to which our government should pay attention regarding this series of "rice incidents" which are occurring:

Firstly, the enonomic bankruptcy of our country today is so threatening that it can no longer be overlooked. Secondly, the issuance of CNC$10,000 denomination notes is not a fundamental remedy to the situation, but instead only stimulates the increase in commodity prices. Thirdly, the high pressure upon the people enforced by the government is not wise, as we have seen by the Taiwan Incident.

By the way, it is said that the two men arrested and shot on that day were not members of the CP at all, but workmen in a certain studio just outside the new South Gate, not far away from the first scene of the "rice incident" of Chengtu. These two were unfortunately taken as two "hens" in a game of "killing the hen so as to frighten the monkey." Oh, how cruel and shameful was such an act!

C. K. HOO.

Chengtu, Szechuen,
June 5, 1947.

Postal Zones

To The Editor:

With reference to the letter from a "A Resigned Yu-wu-yuan," published in the May 31 issue of your esteemed *Review* under the caption, "Zoning Advice," I am directed to inform you that we are fully cognizant of the little progress made so far in the Postal Delivery Zone System, as pointed out by the writer. It was anticipated that, in introducing this system in this country, we would encounter the same difficulties as experienced by the Postal Administrations of Great Britain and the U.S.A., when inaugurating the Postal Zone System. We believe that the successful working of this system can only be attained through the untiring efforts of the Postal Administration on the one hand and the cooperation of the public on the other.

Recently, representatives have been sent by this office to approach the public utility companies and other institutions with a request that Postal Zone Numbers be indicated on their mails, and they have readily signified their willingness to comply with our request. It is obvious that under the old system the sorting staff have to acquaint themselves with all the street names in the city. However, by indicating Postal Zone Numbers on mails, the sorting work will be simplified without jeopardizing speed and accuracy and mails can be sorted according to Postal Zone Numbers, thereby obviating the necessity of reading the full addresses.

Under the Postal Zone System, additional hands can easily be arranged to assist in sorting mails, whenever, necessary. Mails received from Post Offices in outports as well as from Sub-Post offices in the city can be sent direct, according to Postal Zone Numbers, to the Postal establishment concerned for delivery, thereby accelerating the delivery service.

I would add that during the past one and one-half years, the handling of local mails has undergone a radical change. Local mails, if posted before 3 p.m. at 12 designated sub-post offices and 34 pillar boxes which have been specially painted yellow, can be delivered to the addressees also on the same day. It is not true that a local letter takes two days to reach its destination as stated by "Resigned Yu-wu-yuan."

POYN KO,
Secretary.

Post Office, Shanghai,
June 12, 1947.

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To indicate a preference for an American "routing" on your radiograms, it will now be necessary to WRITE or TYPE in the words "via GLOBE" as shown above.

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"Excuse It, Please!"

To The Editor:

China's reaction to the recent Japanese feelers regarding the possibility of getting one gheta into the Ryuku door seems to have been preempted by Ogden Nash in his well-known eight-line classic "The Japanese" which, as you will no doubt remember reads as follows:

How courteous is the Japanese;
He always says "Excuse it, please,"
He climbs into his neighbor's garden,
And smiles and says "I beg your pardon;"
He bows and grins a friendly grin,
And calls his hungry family in;
He grins, and bows a friendly bow;
"So sorry, this my garden now."

I wonder if this has been translated into Chinese, and if not, why not?

J. L.

Shanghai,
June 15, 1947.

Crises In Nanchang

To The Editor:

After V-J Day I came back here, where I was educated 20 years ago and where I was teaching in a middle school and a vocational school. I found my house completely ruined so that my wife and I had to rent a small room for which we are paying a picul of rice.

During the night the electricity is turned off once every three days because the waterworks' engines are in bad shape. If we have an old-lamp burning, it attracts rats, which is serious because of the prevalence of plague in the city. The streets are badly paved and ill kept.

Last week passed in a frenzy of parades, demonstrations and strikes with students, teachers and workers demanding an increase in their salaries. In the first place I want to tell you something of the incidents that occurred in the National Chung Cheng University. Seven years ago it was established at Taihu in Kiangsi in honor of President Chiang. After V-J Day it was moved from Lingtu to Nanchang, where there are no suitable houses and no equipment for the students. So for the past few months they, the students, were against the school authorities and one night attacked and injured their Principal, Shiao Chiu. He is at present ill at Nanking.

On the morning of May 21 several hundred students insisted on going to Nanking. As they approached Chung Cheng bridge a number of gendarmes and policemen rushed forward to stop them, which resulted in a clash. Five students were wounded and taken to the hospital. It is now said that Mr. Shiao Chiu's resignation has been accepted and the strike will soon be over.

On May 29 on my way to school in the morning I was surprised to see no newspapers while passing a printing office. This strike carried on until the next day when wages were increased 90 percent.

Also the teachers of the municipal primary schools are forever grumbling about their poor pay. They say that they get only $120,000 per month, which is hardly enough to support themselves.

Anyhow, the economic, financial and civil war crises still threaten this city, as well as all China. How unfortunate it is for us to be living in such a world, under such conditions and moreover in such a cruel age.

But I am sure that God will help those who help themselves. We are born to sorrow and to grief and life is a lengthy and thorny road. It is only through undaunted courage and spirit that we can travel this road to the glorious destination for all mankind.

HUEI CHEN KUO.

Nanchang, Kiangsi,
June 7, 1947.

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Not Naive--Prejudiced!

To The Editor:

In recent issues of *The China Weekly Review* letters signed F. J. attempted to discredit my articles on prevailing conditions in Kiaotung Peninsula, a Communist-held area of Shantung Province.

In one of two articles published in this journal I gave impressions of a journey in a rural area under Communist administration. The recent Land Reform has consolidated the trust of the Shantung peasant in Communist leadership. The peasantry, to whom red, white or pink are colors of little import, see the most dazzling hues in the principle of "land to the tiller." They bear arms today—no interpreter told me this; I saw it—in defense of their land, the land they till.

In another article, a description of industrial and commercial development in the Communist-held port of Chefoo, I told what I saw of Red economic policies in urban areas. The Communist-led armies could not hold the Nationalist armies for more than a month without an economically firm rear. They follow policies most conducive to industrial and economic growth—to achieve the highest possible returns under the difficult conditions of a blockade.

I am accused, in telling this, of spinning fables of a never-never land. F. J. reserves the privilege of telling fables of Communist areas to Father O'Conner.

The fable "Land to the Tiller" in recent history was first told to the Chinese peasant by the Taiping rebels. The successors of Dr. Sun Yat-sen bandied about the fable "The Three People's Principles."

But when fables such as these come true, they frighten the Chinese Brothers Grimm, and lead to civil war.

F. J. asserts the Chinese Reds are not mere land reformers; they are "real Reds" With this I have no quarrel. Not all land reformers are Reds, but history has shown that all Reds are land reformers.

I should not trust the words of Communist officials. All Reds are liars, says F. J.....Says he: "Red propaganda is essentially based on deception. Surely then he doesn't believe he got, through an interpreter, an exact picture of what is really going on in Shantung today...."

I do believe it, however, for no interpreter could conjure up before my eyes, as effectively as did the hard-working Chinese peasant, the contentment of tenant-farmers turned land-owning farmers. I do believe it, for no interpreter could conjure up before my eyes, as effectively as did the hard-working Chefoo workers, the purposeful industry of their machine shops and mills.

For believing my eyes F. J. calls me naive. F. J. is not naive. He is prejudiced.

He is one of those who don't believe what they see, but see what they believe.

VIC SCHNEIERSON.

Shanghai,
June 17, 1947.

India Divided

To The Editor:

I do not think that I have ever in my life of 57 years read an article that is more based on prejudice, to put it mildly, than the editorial in your issue of June 14th headed "Attlee's India 'Gamble'." There you repeat the old cry—that our common friends the Japanese made so much use of in the recent war—that Britain's aim has always been "Divide and rule." It is on the other hand plain for all the unprejudiced world to see that so far at any rate as India is concerned the opposite is the truth.

Before Britain came, India was divided. While Britain was there, India was united. While Britain was there papers like yours decried her for her imperialism. The one thing Britain has been striving for since the war is to give back to the Indians a united India. She has failed, not, as you suggest, because of any malicious intent or evil machinations, but because the Indian peoples won't have it. Britain goes; India falls apart again. And again, with papers like yours, it is Britain's fault.

Your own article gives your own case away. In concluding it you have the effrontery to say the only solution is for the Indian peoples to unite. Exactly. That is what Britain has been trying to get them to do; but it is precisely what they won't do. Perhaps you would have Britain force them to do so?

DISGUSTED BRITON.

Shanghai,
June 16, 1947.

Writing On Wall

To The Editor:

Insofar as none of the so-called organs of the free press in KMT-controlled areas has dared to publish Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang's recent call to the people of China, I am giving below the gist of his cable dispatched from New York on May 29, in the hope that the *Review*, at present the only non-Government-controlled paper, will publish Feng's statement:

Marshal Feng denounced the arrest, wounding and killing of students and called for the immediate cessation of the Civil War and urged the formation of a genuine coalition government. He said students are the nation's backbone and hunger and cold drove them sincerely to petition for the end of Civil War. Whoever shot them is revolting against the people, and this all KMT members should analyze frankly. Civil War worsens the internal situation, especially economy,

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while Government practices are unjust and untrue.

Venality, nepotism, jobbery run riot and no recognition is given ability, talent and honest achievements. Chaos and corruption reign. Party affairs are conducted in an undemocratic manner, there being no fraternal feeling and no frank discussion. Those patriotic generals who fought the Japanese have been pushed aside, Madame Sun Yat-sen has been slandered, and Madame Liao Chun-kai silenced. Honest people are painted as corrupt, while those who deposit gold in America are called poor.

Innocent, peaceful and righteous citizens are labeled Communists and are reported missing or buried alive. Ninety percent of all newspapers are controlled by the few and truth is daily distorted; honest, good newspapers are closed down. Secret service agents run wild, harming innocent people, and abusing public interests for private gain.

Victory over Japan should be credited to the entire people and not to a single individual. Peace and democracy are impossible without self-criticism and self-examination. Lessons should be learned from Hitler and Mussolini, for 22 of the latter's 25 closest associates advised him to resign in his last days. This lesson should be particularly important under present circumstances. Continued civil war will mean further decline of tottering national prestige, therefore an immediate cessation of the Civil War is suggested.

Negotiations should be imediately resumed through Chang Lan, Chairman of the Democratic League, Marshal Li Chi-sen, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Madame Liao Chun-kai, General Chen Ming-chu, General Tsai Ting-kai, General Chiang Kwong-nai, Mr. Shen Chun-ju, leader of the People's National Salvation Group, and other Democratic League friends.

A new conference of all parties and groups, with delegations from university faculties and student bodies, agricultural, industrial and commercial circles invited. Immediate adequate subsidies to teachers and students must be granted. All troops should be treated equally. A truly representative coalition Government should be formed.

Well, Mr. Editor, do you not agree Marshal Feng is right?

P. C. C.

Hongkong,
June 10, 1947.

Increased Mail

In recent weeks the number of letters to the editor has increased several fold until now we are able only to publish about one out of every 10 received, although we have recently increased the amount of space devoted to Letters From The People. Letters will stand a better chance of publication if they are kept within 200 words.

An Old Reader

To The Editor:

Having received your kind letter concerning the expiration of my subscription to your esteemed *Review*, I sincerely thank you for your kind regards. I was a constant reader of your *Review* for nearly three years when I was studying at Chiao Tung University in prewar days. Eight years of resistance to the enemy have rendered me homeless and penniless.

I am a teacher of a middle school. As the commodity prices soar higher and higher without end, I can hardly live on my low salary. My financial condition is going from bad to worse. I am afraid I will have to suffer without your *Review* for a time. However, your articles such as "Taiwan's Blood Bath," "Patriotism Is Death," "I Accuse," "Behind The May Demonstrations," etc. in recent issues have impressed me so deeply that I earnestly hope to continue my subscription from some financial help in the near future.

C. T. K.

Sin Chan Hsien, Chekiang,
June 10, 1947.

(NOTE:—The Editors of the REVIEW have extended C. T. K.'s subscription, along with several others, for a three-month period with the sum so kindly donated by A Friend of China a short time ago.)

3 Subscriptions

To The Editor:

I much regret to inform you that I shall be obliged to discontinue my subscription (temporarily, I hope) after the expiration of my present one on account of the high cost of postage.

D. M. C.

Kweiyang, Kweichow,
June 4, 1947.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—An American Correspondent, who prefers to remain anonymous, has donated sufficient money to cover three subscriptions for readers who are unable to continue subscribing to the Review. We have applied this money to subscriptions for D. M. C. (whose letter is printed above), D. C. (letter in issue of May 10), and C. Y. C. of Kuyeh, Hopei.

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Vol. 106 Shanghai, Saturday, June 21, 1947 No. 3

Shanghai's Traffic Problem

THE *Review*, as well as other Shanghai publications, from time to time has commented upon the seriousness of the local traffic problem and made occasional recommendations. "Anti-Noise" and "Traffic Control" weeks have come and gone and Shanghai streets today are still the most snarled and confused in the world. We personally have despaired of any measureable improvement in the near future, despite the current traffic control drive which admittedly is making some progress, even if only temporary. However, we believe that a thorough review of the causes of the traffic problems confronting Shanghai and other cities in China should be made now so that some serious and realistic plans for the future may be laid.

The fact is that today all traffic in Shanghai is forced to move—similar to war-time merchant ship convoys—at the speed of the slowest vehicles, which happen to be carts, rickshas and other types of man-propelled vehicles. Another impediment to the smooth flow of traffic is the increasing use of Shanghai streets by huge, unwieldy trucks and busses, rebuilt or converted from old U.S. Army six by sixes, Burma Road trucks, etc. These vehicles, built during the war for rugged cross-country use do not carry as heavy loads as their size would indicate. Also they are difficult to maneuver in narrow and crowded streets. A third factor is the greatly increased population of Shanghai. It is estimated that more than 1,000,000 "extra" people have flocked into the city since V-J Day.

Obviously, these three major problems cannot be eradicated overnight. Rickshas and carts cannot be banned until sufficient motorized transportation is available to take their place and until other satisfactory jobs can be found for the coolies so employed. Inefficient, bulky trucks—secured through surplus property deals—cannot be replaced until they are worn out or until more suitable postwar types are available. The city's surplus population cannot be kicked out and will not leave until economic and political conditions in the surrounding countryside and upriver towns and cities improve. Until the excess people leave, or until the area of the city is enlarged, Shanghai's streets will be crowded with pedestrians.

Rebuilding or redesigning the city—already planned—is a dream for the future. The time when the municipality or the National Government will be able to afford any sweeping city planning scheme will probably not occur in our lifetime.

One small thing which would show gratifying results in a year or two would be the enforcement of the law prohibiting property owners of downtown real estate from erecting new structures without withdrawing several feet from their present locations. This law, which is similar to ones in most cities in Western countries, is a compromise arrangement with the property holders whose buildings front on crowded, narrow streets. Instead of arbitrarily ordering them to tear down their buildings and rebuild back of their present sites so that the street may be widened, the law permits them to stay where they are until their building, through age or damage, becomes useless and must be replaced. Then they must give way and allow part of their frontage to be used to widen the street. Sufficient compensation, naturally, is always paid by the city.

This law existed in Shanghai prior to Pearl Harbor and, presumably, still does. Daily we see violations of the spirit, if not the letter, of this regulation. Bamboo fences are erected about a store front, signs are put up saying that the building is being "redecorated," but in actual truth the building is virtually torn down and rebuilt upon the same spot. Several buildings have been razed by fire during the last two years and immediately reconstructed upon their old foundations. Almost all Shanghai streets today show evidence of the enforcement of this regulation in the past, with periodic sharp indentations in front of new buildings and with occasional blocks of old, dilapidated structures jutting out beyond their neighbors. One can walk around the crowded downtown sections of Shanghai and see several recent violations and some now in the making. Crowded streets such as Szechuen and Kiangsi roads could have been widened noticeably in just the last two years if this law had been enforced.

* * *

ANOTHER remedy for both the confusion and the many accidents would be an intensive publicity campaign aimed at educating both the walking and driving public. To our knowledge there has been almost no attempt to "explain" traffic to the residents of Shanghai. The importance of this aspect cannot be overrated. In America, the home of the automobile, where the people are extremely conscious of traffic problems and of the dangers to drivers and pedestrians resulting from excessive movement of vehicles, there are yearly nationwide safety campaigns which urge all to be cautious and to THINK when they are driving or walking in the streets. Despite this continuous publicity, some 25,000 people

are killed in traffic accidents each year in America. Considering this, is it any wonder that in China, where drivers, pedestrians and pushers and pullers of carts and rickshas are pretty much left to their own devices, there are so many accidents and near accidents?

Until such time as the drivers of Shanghai, as well as all others who use the streets, are made to understand — by compulsion, if necessary — certain elementary principles of traffic there will be little if any improvement. One of the most astonishing aspects of the street behavior of the local populace is the total lack of any simple courtesy or respect, or any understanding among the people that "the other fellow" has any rights. Virtually every pedestrian, ricksha coolie and automobile driver proceeds down the public street as if it were his own personal property and all other traffic should give way so that he may pass without delay. Examples of this typical hog-like attitude may be seen in quick repetition all day long on any crowded street in Shanghai. Sometimes the results would be ludicrous if they didn't result in so many accidents and in such lengthy and frequent stoppages of traffic. One we witnessed a few days ago occurred when a bicyclist and a motor car driver, proceeding in opposite directions down the middle of the street, ran into each other. Traffic was blocked for nearly 10 minutes while the cyclist and the chauffeur argued with each other, each gesticulating toward the other side of the street and telling the other that HE should not have been in the middle.

Pedestrians are as bad as the rest in their street manners. They not only blandly step in front of one another, walk in and out of stores as casually as if the sidewalks were empty and, if one proceeding in a normally direct course, should happen to bump one of these sidewalk jaywalkers, he will be muttered at or openly bawled out for getting in the way. Clearly, only a sustained educational campaign can improve the public's conduct when on the streets.

* * *

ONE MORE point the people and the authorities might consider for future reference is China's set of laws relating to automobile and other traffic accidents. Laws and regulations, of course, are things about which one may argue indefinitely, with each person having his own ideas as to their correctness. However, from a Western point of view the responsibilities the law places upon the driver of a motorized vehicle are extremely oppressive. Such responsibilities, one might argue, are quite proper for China today since motorized vehicles are in the minority. For the future, though, the practice whereby the cards are stacked against the automobile or truck driver in the event of an accident will not prove satisfactory.

In European and other Western countries where automobile traffic has become a major factor, the legal authorities have evolved what is known as the "doctrine of contributory negligence," which provides for joint blame—if such exists—for accidents involving automobiles and pedestrians or non-motorized vehicles. While such a legal theory probably exists in China, the application of it certainly should be extended. One might say that the vast majority of Shanghai's traffic accidents are the result of joint negligence. Most drivers consider it sufficient to blow their horns constantly as they drive along, often bearing down upon a jaywalker until the last moment before turning or slowing. On the other hand, thousands of pedestrians stroll into the middle of the streets countless times every day without so much as a glance in either direction. When an accident, or near accident occurs, both driver and pedestrian usually appear as if the middle of the street was about the last place in the world where they expected to meet each other.

This situation naturally can only be remedied by education, but in the meanwhile it might be well to consider the pedestrian's responsibility for keeping himself out of the paths of oncoming vehicles.

The present practice of putting most of the responsibility for accidents upon the shoulders of drivers is rapidly becoming more illogical as vehicular traffic increases. Such a system may have been more reasonable in ancient England where one of the first laws dealing with machines was expressed to the effect that, "Anyone who caused a dangerous force to be put in motion which resulted in any destruction is responsible for the damage." This may have sounded logical to a feudal-minded people who felt that inventors and operators of early type steam engines and other machines which occasionally blew up or flew apart should be responsible for their handiwork. However, such reasoning or logic cannot be applied today.

There is little hope for any real and lasting improvement of the traffic situation on the roads and streets of China today but, with industrialization and modernization in prospect for the country, now is the time for the authorities concerned to begin laying plans so that today's traffic confusion will not grow into one of the country's major problems.

One Man's Opinion

"THE leading social class in China, which used to ignore industry, agriculture or mining, is today taking a new interest in these subjects. A better conception of social relations, in the form of a mixed economic system of government and private industries, is another notable achievement in China to suit its peculiar needs."—*Dr. T. F. Tsiang, at the UN Economic Council For Asia and the Far East.*

War In Indonesia

MANY controversial reports have emanated from Batavia and The Hague following the signing of the Linggadjati Agreement last November. The two recent reports are: (1) War Threat Removed in Indonesia, and (2) Dutch to Abandon Talks with Indonesians as Fruitless. The second came two days after the first.

Fighting has broken out a number of times following the compromise agreement, and there

appear to be indications that serious fighting is about to break out between the Dutch colonial forces and the Indonesians. This fighting, the situation having reached a decisive stage, will either end in complete independence for the young Republic, or its temporary subjugation by the Dutch. No other conclusion can be drawn from present events in Indonesia, considering that even such a mild document as the Linggadjati Agreement, which provided for gradual emergence of a United States of Indonesia by January, 1949, failed to be implemented. A military showdown now seems the only solution.

True, the Indonesian Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. A. N. Gani, has declared that the Republic will ask a third nation to arbitrate in the negotiations with the Dutch, but considering that the Dutch desire to remain in the islands, and the Indonesians desire to attain complete independence, it is unlikely that anything more than fruitless negotiations will result.

The Linggadjati Agreement is an ambiguous document. Observers have noted that its terms cover considerably more concessions than the Dutch are actually willing to grant, and substantially less than the Indonesians have been seeking. This was proved shortly after the seals were affixed: misunderstanding developed over the question of independent diplomatic and economic representation by the Indonesians, their desire for the immediate opening of the estates, a return to normal economy and general rehabilitation of the islands. Moreover, the Dutch have continued their blockade of the sinuous insular coasts, prevented the Indonesians from disposing of huge stocks accumulated on the islands, and sent additional troops from Holland.

Besides purely economic and military events, the sponsorship by the Dutch of "independence movements" in districts not in direct control of the Indonesian forces, hardly adds goodwill to the implementation of the agreement.

That concessions made by the Netherlands embodied in the agreement were not made from any fit of benevolence can be seen from statements by its ministers. Thus one of them declared:

"No room is left for any popular misconception that recognition of the Republic would mean abdication of the Kingdom." And Acting Governor-General Van Mook added: "The Indonesia of the future will be something different from the old Netherlands East Indies. We are compelled to revise traditional ideas if we do not wish to be faced with ugly facts."

The above indicate that the Dutch are willing merely to see changes in *form*, and not so much in *content*, which would mean a continuation of colonial exploitation. In this respect, the Dutch are fast learning from the British in India, for by November, 1946, they had realized the futility of carrying on the undeclared war against the young Republic and switched to "constitutional" measures which resulted in the Liggadjati Agreement. Now that the breathing space provided by the agreement has outlived its usefulness, we hear of the "futility" of further talks.

The picture may appear bleak to the aspirations of the new Republic, which has grown since V-J Day when Indonesian forces successfully resisted the incursions of the Dutch, supported to a large extent by British forces. When the Dutch came back, about a month after the Japanese surrender, they were somewhat surprised to see a budding government organizing things in the islands. They promptly dubbed it "Japanese sponsored," but at the same time broadcast a statement from Australia placing Indonesians under interim command of the Japanese, rather than give them a chance to enforce peace and order by themselves. The Netherlands' adherence to the Atlantic Charter conveniently overlooked, a military campaign was launched against the "insurgents." Although the pretext for returning to Indonesia on the part of British troops —Dutch troops not being to hand—was the disarming of the Japanese, there were plenty of Japanese guarding oil fields more than a year after V-J Day. There was even a report at that time issued by a British commander commending Japanese troops for their "gallantry" in a battle against the Indonesians.

These things are not quickly forgotten, especially by those who have once tasted freedom, after generations of colonialism. The imminence of renewed fighting for an independent Republic, has found the Indonesians united. Twelve parties have only recently formed a united front "for any eventuality," which is definitely near, now that the Dutch have decided to break off the parleys. This latter event has effectively punctured Dutch sponsored reports of "civil war" among the Indonesians. Obviously the desire for freedom and independence has made all Indonesian parties sink their differences and unite against the common foe.

The struggle for an independent Indonesian Republic may be prolonged by various factors, although the possibility that the Indonesians will once against be subjugated, however briefly, by the Dutch, is non-existent. History is on the side of the Indonesians.

Inflationary Note

IN March the families of naval personnel drowned when a China Merchants ship rammed and sunk a Chinese Navy gunboat were compensated by payment of CNC$1,000,000 per head.

Early this month Generalissimo Chiang ordered payment of CNC$50,000,000 to the family of each student killed by soldiers at Wuchang.

On June 11 the Communist Chefoo General Workers' Union asked UNRRA to pay US$5,000 to the family of a coolie killed by an UNRRA vehicle.

In Shanghai today students and faculty of Chiaotung University are demanding that the Texas Company pay CNC$598,000,000 as "just compensation" for the death of a student killed by a Texas oil truck.

Border Incident Fiasco

DURING the past week we have been subjected to a "war of nerves" by the press and the authorities who, through lack of information or because of a desire to achieve some rather obvious

political aims, have apparently blown the Sinkiang border incident out of all proportion.

It is of course difficult for those of us who sit in Shanghai to say with assurance just what has happened along the border of far off Sinkiang, but a little calm reflection upon general conditions, plus a careful analysis of the tenor of Nanking's statement each day of last week, would seem to give one a reasonable idea of the situation.

First news of the "invasion" of Sinkiang by Outer Mongolian troops, supported by Soviet Russian aircraft, was reported in one Chinese paper. The next morning Chinese and English-language papers told the story in banner headlines, although official confirmation was still lacking. To our way of thinking, such a display was inexcusable. The second day—although no new "facts" were disclosed—the Chinese Government admitted the "correctness" of the story and announced that official protests had been filed with the Outer Mongolian and Russian governments. The story remained in this state for about another day, with merely more statements from various officials saying the news had been confirmed and pointing out that this was just the latest of a series of attacks covering a period of several months.

Not until it was revealed that General Chang Chih-chung, outgoing governor of Sinkiang, had requested General Pai Chung-hsi to postpone his inspection trip to the remote province, did it leak out that—in addition to the invasion—there were some internal difficulties in the province between Chinese residents and the tribal peoples.

Not being experts upon Sinkiang's internal minority problems or upon the various political factions and cliques among the Chinese there, we obviously cannot comment intelligently upon the politicking that goes on between and among these various groups. However, we would only be naive if we failed to believe that Sinkiang—like every other province in China—has its share of this activity.

The fact that political machinations in Sinkiang are complicated because the minority tribes there are closely linked by language and blood with tribes on the "other side" of the border must also be recognized, as must the fact that the land-hungry Russians are certainly not above doing their part to keep the pot boiling. As we have pointed out before, almost the entire history of Sino-Russian relations has been marked by periodic transfers of Chinese territory to Russia. There is no reason to believe that the Russians have suddenly turned a new leaf and decided that they don't want any more Chinese territory.

However, despite our views about the Russians, we must give them credit for common sense. This immediately rules out the possibility of Russian planes participating in the "invasion." Ever since the failure of the Russian attempt to guide and control the Chinese revolution some two decades ago, Moscow has pursued a cautious policy in China. Why would the Kremlin now stick out its neck by active participation in a border incident, the result of which most probably would be inconclusive? This seems especially logical in view of the current military-political-economic situation in China, which, in our opinion, appears to be shaping up in a manner calculated to please Russia better than anyone else.

It is our guess that the present disorders in Sinkiang are most likely of an endemic nature. They may involve tribal people living on both sides of the Sinkiang-Outer Mongolian border, but they also probably involve tribal peoples living entirely on the Sinkiang side, as well as the Chinese residing in the province.

The fact that June 30, the deadline date for the US$500,000,000 American Export-Import Bank loan, is drawing near may have had something to do with the general hysteria caused in China's capital. Ordinary political developments in this country are so clothed with intrigue and counter-intrigue that we usually have to wait a while for the smoke screen to clear before we can tell exactly what happened. Thus, when the stakes are high and the players are desperate, the plot becomes more complicated and—to the sideline observer—more difficult to unravel.

In any event, it appears at this writing that neither the "Sinkiang Invasion," nor the "100,000-strong Korean Army" reported operating in Manchuria have shaken up the Export-Import Bank or General Marshall to the extent that they will be rushed into a decision.

Meanwhile, we would suggest that the Central Government send a real fact-finding mission to Sinkiang to study general conditions in that border province, in addition to investigating the present military situation. And, we might add, the investigation should be a little more carefully done than the one recently conducted in Taiwan.

Things To Come

Washington, June 10 (*UP*).—Nelson T. Johnson, secretary-general of the Far Eastern Commission, today praised the "magnificent job General MacArthur has done in Japan," saying "when the military phase of occupation is over we will have left a country on which we have imposed social revolution ....we will have turned them upside down and left in their hands democratic tools."

Anyway, it's a comforting thought....

One View Of Shanghai

WE came into possession the other day of a "memorandum" to "all hands" aboard the U.S.S. General Breckinridge, American naval transport which recently called at Shanghai. This memorandum, or order, to the crew gives one view of Shanghai which should be of interest to those of us who live here.

In addition to the usual instructions about saluting, wearing of uniforms, etc. the memorandum gives some specific instructions regarding behavior during shore leave here. Shanghai, it is pointed out, while one of the best "liberty ports" in the Orient, also has its disadvantages,

since "inflation, lack of commodities and inefficient law enforcement authorities all combine to make a difficult situation."

Discussing the business side of shore leave, it says, "Goods of all sorts are in short supply and the Chinese are shrewd businessmen. Hence you will find almost all prices are high. In most places of business bargaining is in order and the final price may be considerably below the asking price. Bargaining with ricksha and pedicab coolies is almost unavoidable. In this connection do not permit yourself to be pawed over, grabbed hold of, etc., when picking out a ricksha, or by street urchins—many of the ship's company have had a billfold or fountain pen lifted during flurries of this sort."

Other items of interest include, "Men ashore should travel in pairs or groups.....Drunks are particularly vulnerable.....Try to keep track of the general direction you must go so as to check on the ricksha or pedicab boy.....Men ashore will avoid all contact with Japanese."

The last paragraph relates to money matters and says: "U.S. money cannot legally be used ashore. The legal rate of exchange is CNC$12,000 to US$1.00 and exchange can be made at the Bank of China.....Black market is about CNC$32,000 to US$1.00."

From the foregoing, it would seem that the Navy is not quite convinced that complete law and order exist in Shanghai. Some of the points are perhaps well made. However, instructions to foreign ship personnel calling at Shanghai are not enough. The remedy must come from Shanghai. Certainly the conditions along the waterfront have been improved greatly in the last year; it should not be difficult for the authorities—as long as they have the cooperation of ships' officers, both naval and merchant—to finish up the job and make Shanghai the best port of call in the Orient. It would benefit both sides. The seamen and sailors would enjoy their stay here more, while the city stands to profit from increased ship callings.

Know Your Mexico

ROASTED locusts and grasshoppers are a staple food in parts of Mexico.—*China Press, June* 18, 1947.

Roasted locusts and grasshoppers are a staple food in parts of China, as anybody will tell you. Also fried tree bark and roots.

* * *

By Way Of Contrast

THE *Reuter* story from Hongkong telling of the one year sentence handed out by the Hongkong Court to Alfred B. Palmer of CNRRA Water Transport for illegal transactions in relief goods, reminds us of the affair of a local CNRRA cashier who manipulated a few zillion CNC to his own advantage last year. What ever happened to him? Has he repented yet?

* * *

Novel Occurrence

THE head of the Chinese mission to Dairen and Port Arthur, Lt. Gen. Tung Yen-ping disclosed that Chinese residents there appeared extremely interested in the mission's visit, and the delegates were often surrounded by staring crowds when they ventured out of doors.—*News item.*

This seems to be a novel development in the public life of this country.

Purely Platonic

LONDON, June 13. (*REUTER*)—Declarations by Hyderabad and Travancore of their intention to become independent states in the new India have stimulated British political interest in the future of the Princely States as a whole.

Curiosity, in this case, will not harm the cat.

* * *

Time Is Short

PRINCESSES Elizabeth and Margaret have been appointed to membership of the Imperial Order of the Crown Of India.—*News Item.*

They should join, but fast.

25 Years Ago In Millard's Review Of The Far East

Propaganda

June 24, 1922.

"For several years there has been in existence a strong propaganda calculated to induce American business to come to China. This propaganda has been conducted by branches of the American government such as the State and Commerce Departments, by the Chinese government through specially organized bureaus in China and through the Chinese Legation in Washington and Chinese consulates in New York, San Francisco and other places. In addition to these powerful governmental organs, private bodies such as American chambers of commerce in China and similar bodies in the United States have done everything possible to induce the American banker, the American manufacturer and the American businessman to enter the Chinese market. Chinese chambers of commerce have followed a similar procedure." *Extract from series on "Playing Uncle San For A Sucker."*

* * *

Dr. Sun Ousted

The fall of the Canton administration of Sun Yat-sen as a result of a counter-move on the part of General Chen Chiungming, former civil governor of the province of Kwangtung, stands out as the most significant news happening of the week .....The movement started as a revolt of the Chen troops, according to a dispatch dated June 10 reading: "This morning at three o'clock the troops belonging to Gen. Chen Chiung-ming made a sudden attack upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's forces with the result that the latter all have fallen into the hands of Gen. Chen's troops. Dr. Sun has fled to Huangpu. The city of Canton is quiet as yet."

10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

Trout & Orchids

National officials in Nanking, particularly in the Ministry of Communications, are worried about the inauguration of an "illegal" airmail service between Peiping-Tientsin and Tokyo .....The first plane of the triangular service carried a cage of fresh trout for Gen. Kenkichi Ueda, Commander of the Kwantung Army, but of most interest was a bouquet of orchids which was sent to Emperor Pu Yi by Count Hideko Kodama of Japan.

* * *

"The 7 Gentlemen"

With the courthouse heavily guarded, the trial of the seven leaders of the All-China National Salvation Association, on charges of undermining the security of the state, opened at the Kiangsu High Court in Soochow on June 11. The session was held in the presence of only newspaper reporters and families of the defendants. The seven accused, who were arrested in Shanghai on Nov. 22 last year, are: Shen Chun-ju, 64, lawyer; Chang Nai-chi, 41, well-known economist; Wang Chao-shih, 35, lawyer and former professor of Kwang Hua University; Li Kung-po, 36, educator (who was assassinated in Kunming in 1946); Tsou Tao-fan, 42, magazine editor; Sha Chien-li, 35, lawyer; and Miss Sze Liang, 33, lawyer. The seven accused were defended by a total of 19 attorneys.

Woodcuts

IN recent years the art of wood engraving has grown tremendously in China until today it is one of the most expressive forms of Chinese art. In the past wood engraving was practised in China, but not as an expressive art. In those days it was merely the most advanced form of illustration for books and other printed matter, with artists producing rather stylized drawings and workmen copying the pattern in wood.

It was not until about 15 years ago when China's famed Lu Hsün, convinced that creative wood engraving had a future in this country, imported a Japanese engraver and organized instruction classes in Shanghai that the modern form of wood engraving was established in China. From this small beginning it spread rapidly throughout the country with scores of wood engraving societies formed in various cities. During the war of resistance against Japan woodcuts attained an unheard of popularity, partially because the struggle against oppression fostered heroic artistic achievements and partially because, cut off from the more modernized coastal areas, woodcuts again became one of the most practical methods of illustrating printed texts.

Today, although the coastal areas have been reoccupied, woodcuts have maintained their popularity in Kuomintang China, while they are a standard medium of expression in Communist areas. Since V-J Day several volumes of the collected work of various artists have been published. The accompanying woodcut, entitled, "The Man Who 'Disappeared' by Himself," seems especially pertinent in Shanghai today when, according to officials, so many people are "falling in the river," leaving town because they don't like it here, or disappearing in various other ways. This woodcut was engraved by Wang Shu-i and is from a collection called, "*Woodcuts of War-Time China*," published by the Kaiming Book Company. Next week *The Review* will reproduce a two-page layout of woodcuts by various Chinese artists.

Shipping Strike

ONCE again trans-Pacific shipping has been seriously crippled by an American seamen's strike. All strikes, whether they be in America or in other countries, are costly affairs, not only to the particular labor and management groups involved, but also to the general public. However, it is only when a strike such as the present one occurs that this fact is really brought home to those of us who live away from home.

Too often we are inclined to flatly blame labor or management, depending upon our personal views, without realizing that placing the blame upon one side or the other will not help.

It would seem to us that the time has come for the Government to do some serious and hard THINKING about the entire maritime problem, especially since the United States proposes to maintain its position gained during the war as number one shipping nation of the world. As a beginning, we might suggest the formation of a government investigation committee, with representatives of all factions concerned—labor, management, the government and the public—to conduct a thorough investigation into the entire shipping situation. The complaints of ali parties should be investigated, as well as the exact internal operations of both labor and management organizations. The committee's findings should be published so that the American public may have a sound basis upon which to base its judgement and its recommendations.

Peace Far Away In Indo-China

CAROLINE COOLEY

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—Miss Cooley, the author of this article, is an American newspaper woman who has just returned from a several months tour of South China and Indo-China. The editors of the REVIEW feel that this is the best presentation of the Indo-China problem published for some time.)

THE great China problem obscures for the moment the little war that is going on in Indo-China. India's strange solution to the nationalist problem, as well as Indonesia's temporary settlement with the Dutch, also push the Franco-Vietnam story out of the headlines, except for an occasional rumor that Ho Chi Minh, the President of the Vietnamese government, has died or disappeared. A world weary of war took little notice of the bloody battles in Saigon, Haiphong and Hanoi.

The very fact that the resistance movements in the various parts of the Far East have a common basis in representing nationalistic or independence movements, tends to oversimplify the issues and to result in false comparisons. Imperialism is being challenged by communist-led nationals, we say. These underground bandits were encouraged by the Japanese propaganda on the one hand and the Four Freedoms on the other. It may be worth while to take a closer look at the situation and to find out the facts which characterize each of these little postwar revolutions which are suspending the peace in the Far East.

Within the past two years, the government of the Vietnam Republic, which so audaciously announced its right to represent the people of Indo-China in September 1945, has changed substantially. Without going into the history of the military and diplomatic events of the past two years, of agreements made and broken, of fighting and intrigue, suffice it to say, the existence of war has changed the Vietnam government which in August 1945 was quite simply a coalition of various parties united in the common hope of independence, complete with drafts of a constitution, a postwar reconstruction plan, and later confirmed by universal elections.

United For Independence

The baby Vietnam Republic, which, incidentally, was the first nationalist government to be officially recognized in the Far East after the war, was composed of members of various parties, such as the Annamite Kuomintang, the Communist, the Democratic, and many non-party people. Not that all party differences had been resolved by the coalition, but that party issues were sublimated to the cause of unity for independence, is the significant fact.

Since the day of its birth, the new republic has been fighting its former protector, France, or, more correctly, French colonialists, who by superiority in arms and armed men, as well as greater experience in the art of political intrigue, have been reasserting their right to restore the old order. So far, the little nationalist government has held together, has turned its guerrillas into a regular army, has developed a functioning government, and has continued to fight back.

How much longer the fight can go on is a question. The cost to France of the Indo-China war, the lack of trade because of the war, (it can even be questioned whether Indo-China was profitable to France before the war, or only to French interests), as well as the inability of France to establish more than a temporary, compromise government herself, all mitigate the possibility of a long drawn-out war against the Vietnamese. Ho Chi Minh, in my interview with him, indicated that the key to the Indo-China question rests primarily in the internal situation in France.

Vietnam Aims, Methods

For the answer on the other side, let us look at the kind of a government the Vietnam is, what it has done so far, what its aims are and its methods.

During my recent visit of one month within the Vietnam-held parts of Tonkin, the northernmost of the three provinces of Tonkin, Annam and Cochin-China to which the Republic of Vietnam claims leadership, one of my surprises was to find a full-functioning government behind the fighting lines. I found schools, hospitals, markets, courts, communications, agricultural experiment stations, public works, and all the other normal functionings of government in addition to the "full mobilization" for war.

Perhaps most commendable of all are the schools. With the advantage of a romanized system of writing their language, which can be learned in two to four months if you know the oral language, mass education has gone apace with a vengeance. With illiteracy about 85 percent under the French, the Vietnamese government in less than two years has reduced that figure to less than 50 percent, and within a year, it is likely that most of the people will be able to read and to write. I visited many classes conducted by the popular education department, as well as regular primary schools, and found enthusiasm high, and results good. Reading matter is scarce due to the shortage of paper and printing facilities, and publications are limited to those which the government considers to meet the minimum essentials of information, but literacy will simplify communication and contribute to raising self-respect.

The Vietnam Government has issued its own currency based on the "resources of the country and the confidence of the people," as Ho Chi Minh says. During my visit to the country, Vietnamese money circulated at par with Bank of Indo-China money which has a gold base, and there is no serious inflation. Trade over the China border had been sufficient enough to make it profitable for Chinese to print counterfeit Vietnamese money, which is one of the present worries of the police at the border.

French And Chinese Law

I visited courts and jails and asked many questions about law and law enforcement. The new law is a combination of French and Chinese law, and the exchange of information, opinions and decisions contained in the legal journal reminded me of similar journals back home, with no criticisms offered. The court language is the official Vietnam language, but interpreters are required for the many dialects of the mountain people. Jails were clean and modern; courts are dignified, simple, and manned by capable lawyers.

Indo-China is essentially an agrarian economy. It was not surprising, therefore, to find great emphasis placed on agricultural problems, including population redistribution to relieve the congested delta area, as well as production incentives to provide food to an area normally insufficient in rice and other foodstuffs. The mass movement of hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of people, from the fighting areas back into the safer jungle and mountain area, has accentuated the land problem. Generous government loans have been rewarded with greatly increased productivity and relief for the displaced. No permanent policy has been established for new land ownership, partly because of the reluctance to antagonize the French by interfering with French land holdings, and partly because of the complicated political situation with the mountain tribes, which have been semi-autonomous in the past but which the new government is luring into the fold.

Local Trade Normal

Local trade is almost normal, with regular market days, and homeshops. The government has bought small amounts of rice and grain and salt and brought it into shortage areas, subsidizing transportation, but only enough to keep a bottom under

the market and a top over prices. The government sets prices locally for the scarce essentials, but such prices are averages rather than a true ceiling.

The government has clearly shown a hands-off policy with respect to private enterprise, and its actions have been the minimum needed to relieve the shortages resulting from trade blockage due to the war. Big business, which was primarily import and export business, is of course hampered, and business people cry audibly about their plight and pressure the government to let them have a bigger hand in foreign trade, which is presently controlled by the government. Trade over the China border is government controlled, but privately handled. Chinese and Vietnamese merchants, for example, bring cloth, a shortage item, over the Chinese border, but at government controlled prices.

Since the French control the coastline and the ports, only the land border to China is available to the Vietnamese, except through Laos to Burma and Siam. Cutting off rice-rich Cochin-China from Tonkin and Annam has seriously reduced the food supply. The economically complementary relationship of the three provinces is one of the key points in the insistence of the Vietnam government on the retention of Cochin-China within the Vietnam Republic.

Many Cities Destroyed

Because every energy is channeled into defense, all is not normal in Tonkin, of course. Bloody fighting continues in the cities and on the main routes around the Haiphong-Hanoi area, with the French in control of the larger cities and main roads, and the nationals in control of the countryside, and the rest of Tonkin with the exception of a few isolated French garrisons to the west of Hanoi. Aware of the superiority of fighting strength of the French legions, the Vietnamese have destroyed the main cities in the orbit of possible attack from Hanoi, in the name of "resistance." What they can not hope to defend, at least the enemy is not to enjoy.

I have seen cities destroyed under the "scorched earth" policy, and such self-destruction far exceeds the enemy destruction. Nothing is left except the Chinese temples and the Catholic churches and the rubble of demolished buildings. Similarly, roads which might have carried French tanks and trucks have been systematically cut and barricaded. All rails have been removed. The thousands who inhabited these areas have been evacuated to the north. Only a few farmers are left to harvest the crops of the precious food.

French strafings with Spitfires and bombings are almost daily occurrences, but their effect is primarily psychological, disrupting life and reminding the people of their insecurity.

The battle of Hanoi, which began last December, sent the Vietnam government into hiding. No new "capitol" has been established, but rather the government officials are scattered, and government functioning therefore made more difficult because of the slowness of radio, telephone and courier communications. Also, Ho Chi Minh has required the Ministers to personally supervise their programs and this means that they are constantly traveling and consequently inaccessible most of the time. As a result, local government, which because of the war situation is largely military government, is invested with unusual power within its own domain. Who can challenge a lower official when it is impossible to reach a higher official?

Opposition Eliminated

Government is also by written decree, and authority is tightly circumscribed. If judgment is not clearly within the prescribed definitions, authority is lacking, and inaction results.

The most important result of the war, however, has been the squashing of personal liberties and the elimination of opposition to the government. The war is too important—unity is too important—to bother with internal disunity. The regular police as well as the secret police are the true rulers. Even local, elected or appointed officials are impotent against the secret police, in fact, they are their slaves. The police function is twofold: it maintains order and it is responsible for sensing the local pulse as a guide to the government to guage the strengths and weaknesses of the popular front. Either you are with the government or you are against it, but if you value your life, you will be for it. The fear of personal danger that pursues those who think that all is not perfect, is a dreadful fear.

Beyond the specifics of a government, and a new one, fighting for its life and administering to the needs of its people, I was curious to find out what programs were planned for the future beyond independence, what? I had an opportunity to ask this question of many of the leaders and of many ordinary citizens. I wondered how they expected their little country, primarily agricultural, and backward by comparison with western competition, impoverished by war, could emerge as a cohesive nation? I wondered how they could get foreign help, technicians, money, machines, without becoming subservient to the giver? I wondered what their plans for internal government were, and how they intended to rise from a slave people to an independent republic. At what point of compromise could they continue to work with the French and maintain their nationalistic integrity?

"Independence Enough....!"

The answers were disappointing. Many people thought my questions suggestive of all kinds of ulterior motives. They would repeat, sometimes in anger, "Independence, is that not enough! We are fighting with our lives for Independence. Isn't that perfectly clear?" I had to agree that my observations led me to the unqualified conclusion that the majority of people I had met sincerely wanted independence and freedom from the French yoke. But what kind of a government they wanted seemed to be satisfied in the concept of independence.

I was told about the specific program for economic rehabilitation of the country, but it sounded like the generalities of the first speech of a new political candidate, suitable for all; threatening no-one. Of course, roads must be built, and railroads and ports, and telephones, and houses. Of course, trade must be encouraged and farmers given an opportunity to reap a just reward for their labors. Judging by the wartime program, it looked as if private capital was to be given a free hand, government would keep out of business, land ownership was not to be disturbed, education was to be expanded, but beyond this, the government has not shown its hand.

The problem for the government is not simple. Few people in the present government have had much education or experience. Most of them are the loyal underground, many of whom returned from French prisons after the war, weakened in health and untrained in the techniques of administration. Those who are educated, too frequently the tools of the French who gave them their privileges, are not acceptable to the revolutionary government.

Potential Opposition Seen

The stagnation of business due to the blockade of war creates a business group whose self interests usually exceed its political interests, and who constitute a potential opposition, particularly with a prolonged war.

Many shades of revolutionary thought were brewing in the 80 years of French domination, and the willingness of many of these people to work within the Vietnam government have not eradicated their concepts of the shape of things to come. Come the peace, whether it is a Vietnam victory or a French victory, these differences of ideology will emerge.

Ho Chi Minh is well aware of these problems, and of the long pull in changing the psychology of a people depressed by a foreign ruler into self-respecting citizens of mature responsibility. He feels that education is the first step, and that the people and the leaders must learn by doing. This is one of the reasons that authority is extremely limited and responsibility explicitly defined. Slave peoples emerging from slavery react in inconsistent ways, combining timidity, revenge, imitative authoritarianism, fear, usually in excesses. These will be problems not only for the immediate future but for a couple of generations to come.

Communists Wield Power

Where can a little country like Indo-China look for help in the world today? The fact that six out of 22 top ministerial portfolios in the Vietnam government are held by

known Communists, and that the real power in the Vietnam rests with these six and with the Vietmin Party which is clearly Communist led, leads to the conclusion that at least sympathetic support is given and may be expected to continue from the Soviet Union, even if the Soviets haven't provided arms or material assistance.

The fact that Communists are active in the other nationalist and independence movements among other French colonies and in similar uprisings throughout the world, adds significance to the presence and control of Communist trained and inspired leadership in the new Vietnam. The absence of Soviet-type programs in Vietnam does not diminish the significance, because the essence of communism is adaptability and compromise with the practicalities of the situation.

The fact that Chinese and English are the only two foreign languages now taught in the Vietnam training center for diplomats and leaders, gives some indication of the countries with whom future relationships are anticipated.

Chinese Yoke Unwanted

Indo-China was dominated by Chinese and Mongolian feudalism for some 10 centuries, and continued to pay tribute to China long after the ties were broken. The Annamese (meaning "southern conquered people") have no hankering to again be under the Chinese yoke. The Chinese-led political parties during the French domination and the Japanese war, as well as the current difficulties within China, have not enhanced their love for China nor for the Chinese. But the Vietnamese government has made a great issue of fair treatment to the "foreigners" in the country, referring to the Chinese, and have given them great privileges not enjoyed by the Vietnamese.

Chinese refugees from Hanoi, and from the other war torn cities, have been facilitated in every way possible to resettle elsewhere or to return to China. Delegations have traveled frequently to Nanking, and while no official sanction has been bestowed by the Chinese National government on the Vietnamese faction, trade has been permitted over the border with a minimum of obstruction, and with mutual benefit. The historical animosity of the Chinese for the French may account for part of the attitude of the National Government, but officially the Chinese Government has remained discreetly aloof from the Indo-China conflict. Ho Chi Minh and the Vietmin party, which controls Vietnam, have no love for the Kuomintang influenced elements within the country. For example, when the French attacked Longson on the Chinese border, last December, Longson was controlled by the Vietnam-Kuomintang group. They were left to fight their own battle, and it is pretty generally accepted by observers that Ho Chi Minh hoped the French might clean out the Kuomintang group for him. The Vietmin has no intention of allowing any Kuomintang elements to get a toehold.

Help From U.S. Doubted

But in the present crisis as well as in the future, the Vietnamese want peace and trade with their neighbor, China.

During the last months of the anti-Japanese war, the American O.S.S. worked with Ho Chi Minh and the underground resistance forces against the common enemy. The Americans dropped in guns and cigarettes and candy and made a great hit. The nationalists enjoyed the common identity with the "democratic forces" in the world against the fascists. They placed hope in the Atlantic Charter. But as soon as the war was over, the Americans pulled out, lock, stock and barrel, and the only contact with the Americans has been through the diplomatic representatives in Hanoi and Saigon who have remained "neutral" in the internal conflict as best they could.

Ho Chi Minh has followed the American policy abroad since the end of the war, and he has serious doubts about any help from America. He said he would like to meet an official representative of the American government, one uninvolved in the present conflict, with whom he could discuss future relations with America and Americans. Ho has analyzed the situation with respect to American cooperation with characteristic realism.

Aid, Guidance Needed

It is possible that some compromise may be reached between the Vietnamese and the French which would give preference to French capital and French personnel. Ho Chi Minh is still asking for "Independence within the framework of the French Union," and while France is impoverished by the war, there has been considerable softening in the French attitude toward the natives, and the guidance of a stronger country may still be of value to the rebuilding of Indo-China.

While just a little help would go such a long way in Indo-China, it is not likely that either Russia or America will pour in help, nor that France will be willing to invest in a nation that is fighting against her, except to restore her former holdings to the point of profit, or to invest where it will at least be mutually profitable. The answer to this question will be determined when the forces within France have clearly established themselves and the relationship of France to Indo-China is analyzed in the light of the ascendant leadership.

Peace Not On Horizon

The arch-enemy in Indo-China is the Trotskyite group, or the New International, as it is sometimes called. The Vietmin has been able to kill off the key leaders and to suppress the Trotskyites up to this time. But when peace comes, regardless of who wins in Indo-China, the Trotskyites may again appear to challenge the Stalinist-Communists, and the Communists will continue to fight the socialists and the democrats and the reactionaries. No one will pay very much attention. Peace seems a long way off in the Far East, particularly in little Indo-China.

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Terror On The March

C. C. LIANG

A SUPERFICIAL glance at the Government's rear areas or in the cities does not reveal at once the effects of more than one year of civil war, which indirectly has caused untold suffering to the Chinese people. Of course, the newspaper headlines have been occupied mostly with news from the civil war front; the continual soaring of commodity prices and the steady decline in the real value of our wages and salaries have created endless worries and hardships in our daily life. But in general, life in the rear areas, especially in the cities, has been peaceful. Now, this peaceful life, so superficial and so false, is no more. Terror is on the march.

When the first shot was fired on Taiwan, it attracted a certain amount of attention, but only a few recognized it as a signal; a signal that the kind of men who are used to attacking their compatriots on the civil war front are now prepared to do the same towards their unarmed fellow countrymen in the peaceful rear areas.

During April, commodity prices in cities like Shanghai and Peiping doubled and trebled. Workers began to appear on the streets, parading and demanding the unfreezing of the cost of living index and increase in wages; department store employees and school teachers followed. The coolies, the unemployed, the old and the young who could appeal to no one, consulted their own common sense. They attacked rice shops and carried off to their starving homes as much rice as each could handle. They all have a very simple and elemental desire: to fill their stomachs. They have no way of putting this basic and simple demand into a reasonable and understandable form. They can not make their demands heard. But the students can.

Students As Spokesmen

In modern Chinese history, the Chinese students have always been the spokesmen of the common people. They always expressed what the common people desired most, but fell short in making themselves heard and understood. They have always been the harbinger of a new era in our history.

By the first week of May, students all over China began to voice their demands for needs which ranged from recognition of their elected student bodies to an increase in their monthly food allowances. In most cases, these basic demands were not met. Their feeling grew tense and they gradually came to the conclusion that there was something common to their various demands which began to flow into a main current—anti-starvation and anti-civil war. Students all over the country struck and demonstrated—Shanghai, Nanking, Hangchow, Hankow, Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Kaifeng, Tsingtao, Tientsin, Peiping and Mukden reverberated with the same voice.

At first, it appeared that the Government was rather staggered, but finally it resorted to force. Student demonstrations were broken up and the participants were injured and arrested. On May 18, Peiping students were beaten by Youth Army men, and on May 20, students in Nanking were greeted with stones, clubs, water-hoses and boots. Women students as well as men fell victim to the police, gendarmes, plainclothes men and secret agents. But the most significant scene was in Shanghai.

Mayor Petitioned

Between May 20 and the end of that month, skirmishes took place involving police, secret agents and students. Several scores of students were arrested, but the majority of them were released after a few days' detention. Most of the attacks took place in or close to the university campuses. The students, accompanied by some professors, went to see the Mayor and to petition for the release of the students and punishment of the attackers. The attitude of the Mayor was, in general, considerate and the authorities did not state clearly what charges had been made against those arrested.

On May 24, three independent newspapers in Shanghai, the *Wen Wei Pao*, *Hsin Min Pao* and *Lien Ho Jih Pao* were closed down by the Woosung-Shanghai Garrison Headquarters. The reason given for their closure was that they had reported military news and news of the student strikes detrimental to public order and had instigated unrest. On the night of May 27, Mayor Wu left for Nanking, where he called on President Chiang to report in detail on the current local situation. He returned on the night of May 29 and, according to *The China Press*, was armed with specific instructions from the Central authorities to curb the student unrest and stabilize commodity prices.

Sirens Heard

The few Shanghailanders who happened to be awake in the early hours of May 30, heard the sirens of the police cars as they raced through the streets in the dead of night. Universities, dormitories and private homes were broken into by tens, hundreds and even thousands of policemen, gendarmes, plainclothes men and secret agents. Students were pulled out of their beds and stood in rows on the campus, waiting for their names to be called or their faces to be identified from photographs or blacklists. Women as well as men were hauled out of bed in nightdresses or pyjamas with pistols pointed at their heads.

Three women and one man reporter were arrested. Miss Johanna Mai of the *Wen Wei Pao*, Misses Huang Ping, Yang Fang-chao and Mr. Young of the *Lien Ho Jih Pao* were taken, while the number of students rounded up reached much higher figures. Eighteen were missing from the Chiaotung University, 11 from Futan, six from Shanghai Medical College and four from Shanghai Commercial College. In addition to the students arrested earlier, the total now was more than 50.

Mayor Wu and General Hsuan Tieh-wu, Commander of the Woosung-Shanghai Garrison Headquarters, gave a press conference on the afternoon of the same day. According to the Mayor, the four reporters were arrested, not because of the news stories they had written, but because of their proven Communist activities. The total of students to be arrested was 80, but so far only a part had been taken.

Deportation Without Trial

Those students and reporters, said by the Mayor to be Communist agents, would be deported to Communist areas after the planned roundup was completed. They would not face any trial. Negotiations were to be made with UNRRA to send them away and he, personally, would "see them off upon their departure to the Communist Areas," with no harm done, Mayor Wu added. All these actions were taken, General Hsuan said, in order to prevent the planned uprising of the Communists on June 2.

Though the plans announced by the Mayor and the General have yet to be proved by the course of events, the authorities in other cities have not been slow to follow Shanghai's example. In Chungking, more than 1,000 persons were rounded up by secret police on the night of May 31 and early morning of June 1, according to the *Ta Kung Pao*. Among those arrested were eight reporters of the *Ta Kung Pao*, four of the *World Tribune*, two of the *Commercial Daily*, four of the *China Times* and seven of the *Hsin Min Pao*. Of the reporters and staff of the *Democratic Daily*, which had been closed down by the City Government in March, more than 30 were taken into custody.

The number of students and professors arrested was colossal: Chungking University, 31 students (including three women); Szechuen Educational College, 11 students; South East College, 80 students and professors; and The Women's College, more than 80 students. Four students of the Central Engineering College were seriously injured during the arrests. Three members of the New China Dramatic Society

were also taken and the number of citizens and unidentified persons rounded up totaled several hundred. In Chengtu, 38 persons including reporters and other employes of newspapers, were arrested during the night of May 31 and the early morning of June 1. Martial law was imposed.

Students Killed

During a night raid on Wuhan University, at Wuchang, opposite Hankow, three students were killed. Several students, five professors and one assistant also were seized in the early hours of June 1. They are: King Ke-mu, Department of Philosophy; Liu Mun-an; Liu Lun-shan and Miss Chu Chin-yin, Department of Foreign Literature; and Liang Kuo-tung and Liu Cheng-i, Department of Mechanical Engineering, according to a report in the *Sin Wan Pao*.

In Kaifeng, the city was under curfew from 3 a.m. till 2 p.m. on June 1. A *Central News* report estimated the number arrested, including government employees, students and news reporters, at 45. More than 1,000 policemen and other armed personnel participated in the 11-hour search.

In Hangchow, the *Sin Wan Pao* reported, the city government, at its press conference on the afternoon of June 1, revealed that 12 alleged Communists responsible for agitating unrest in the city, had been arrested in the early morning. Thirty-two students and other persons were rounded up at Foochow. Martial law was enforced in that city from June 1, and assemblies and demonstrations were banned. To complete the picture all theaters were ordered to suspend their performances for three days ending June 3.

On June 2, more than 80 students of the Shanghai University in Tsingtao were carried away in trucks. Several students of the Medical College of the North-Eastern University in Mukden were also taken into custody. In Kweiyang, Kweichow, 1,800 suspects were rounded up in one afternoon's search. In Peiping, two students were taken from the North China College when several plainclothes men broke into the campus in the morning of the same day.

Censorship Enforced

Martial law was imposed almost simultaneously on Mukden, Peiping, Tientsin, Tsingtao and Nanchang. In Tientsin, congregations, posters, and newspaper stories prejudicial to military security were banned; news, telegrams and mails were subjected to censorship and citizens in the streets were searched. More than 20 persons were arrested.

It is significant to notice the following facts regarding this nation-wide reign of terror:—

(1) Nearly all the arrests were made within a few days, starting May 30.

(2) Most of the persons arrested were college students, professors and news reporters.

(3) The same pretext was adopted in each city, i.e., that the arrested were, or suspected to be, Communist agents aiming to foment unrest and strikes in the various cities, especially on June 2.

(4) The authorities asserted that if the arrested were found to be real Communists, they would be sent to Communist areas.

The much-feared date of June 2 passed quietly, on the whole, throughout the country. Parades were few, and except for those of students, demonstrations were non-existent. The feared nationwide strike of students, workers and professionals did not materialize. But terror is still on the march, yes, on the march all over the country, wherever the government is in control.

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People's Corporation In Yunnan

HELEN P. F. SHIH
(Special to the China Weekly Review)

Kunming, (By Mail).

THE first general meeting of the 117 shareholder-representatives of the Yunnan People's Enterprise Corporation was held on May 15 at the newly finished building, Victory Hall, in Yun Shui Park in the center of Kunming, one year and three months after the initial plans for its inception were made.

At the opening ceremony, Governor Lu Han, the promoter, said that this is the first corporation of the people, founded by the people, for the people, not only in Yunnan but in the whole of China. The corporation is to take the place formerly filled by organizations operated by the Provincial Government, such as the Yunnan (Provincial) Fu Tien New Bank, the Yunnan Provincial Enterprise Bureau and the Yunnan Provincial Economic Commission. The purpose of the institution is to promote democratic economy.

All the local papers, with double headlines, reported that Governor Lu, on behalf of the provincial government, had handed over to Mr. Chow, the aged chairman, the accounts and the lists of properties belonging to the above-mentioned three organizations, thus signifying that the corporation has been turned over to the people. This is why all the people turned their attention to the important meeting, the expenditure for which amounts to CN$100,000,000.

Corporation's History

Mr. Y. T. Miou, the chairman of the preparatory committee and the shareholder-representative of Kunming, reported at the meeting that in 1944, Lung Yun, the former Governor, worked out a plan to establish a people's-owned corporation by combining the three above-mentioned organizations. Unfortunately, in the course of his preparations, Lung was removed from office, on October 1, 1945. After that the preparations came almost to a standstill.

On February 1, 1946, a 15-person committee, of which seven members were nominated by the provincial council and eight appointed by the provincial government, was organized to form the corporation after Governor Lu assumed office. In September, 1946, Y. T. Miou was sent to Nanking to apply for registration, which was smoothly expedited.

In principle, the stock of the corporation is to be allocated equally to every fu (family). The population in Yunnan, according to the official census in 1933, is 12,000,000, so if every fu is nominally a shareholder it will receive one share valued at CN$5,000. Owing to certain difficulties, every hsien has elected a representative instead of every village—this is contrary to the original regulations—to form a board of supreme power, that is the general meeting of shareholder-representatives. For the time being, this is said to be quite satisfactory.

Armaments Removed

On the eve of the first meeting, a great number of packages were removed from the Yunnan Provincial Enterprise Bureau (a notoriously corrupt organization) in three station-wagons and taken to the house of Lu Tsung-jen, the General Manager of the YPEB. This incident created quite a stir in the town. The controller of Yunnan and Kweichow of the Control Yuan, immediately sent a document to the provincial government demanding a full explanation.

Liu Yow-t'ang, sub-manager of the YPEB and Lu's henchman, white-washed Lu by reporting at his press conference that the packages, containing 100 American-made pistols, machineguns, rifles and thousands of bullets, were Lu's own property and had been bought when he was commissioner of Civil Affairs for his own protection. They had been stored at the YPEB for safekeeping during his absence from home.

Who is Lu? A lao pai hsing? What was his purpose in storing up this ammunition? Why did he choose to recover it at that particular time—on the eve of the meeting? A shower of interpellations fell on Liu Yow-t'ang at the meeting. In order to sever the Gordian knot, the provincial government declared that all the ammunition and arms would be confiscated on the grounds that they were unlicensed. The tempest in the teapot was quieted!

The forced removal of former Governor Lung Yun by the Central Government was generally recognized as "undemocratic." In the course of the "taking over" all the provincial properties, particularly gold, silver and other valuables, stored in Chin Hwa Cave, about four or five miles west of Kunming, allegedly fell into the hands of General Tu Yu-ming.

Terms Accepted

T. V. Soong, then premier, was sent to Kunming to welcome Lung to Chungking and congratulate him on his "promotion." One of the terms on which Lung insisted was

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that unless all this property, the product of the Yunnan people's blood and sweat, which he had saved during his tenure of office, and had already allocated for use by the corporation, were returned to the people of Yunnan, he would not go to Chungking even if the sword of Democles hung over his head. These terms were, of course, accepted by T. V. Soong and Lung Yun left Kunming.

It is understood that all the organs under the control of the above-mentioned three organizations will be incorporated in the corporation sooner or later, but up to the present the combination has not been put into effect. Last year, the Yunnan Cigarette Factory of YPEB took advantage of the last opportunity it had to make use of the factory's funds, materials and finished products. It took them a full month to present their accounts to the corporation. This is a well known secret, but no representative has asked a single question about this. I wonder why?

The Yunnan Provincial Council, which, to our knowledge, is a Kuomintang-controlled organ, held its first plenary session on April 1, 1946. Some councillors, attacked by the 13 democratic papers for allegedly being members of the CC Clique, proposed that since they were the "nominated councillors," they should certainly be the representatives of the people from their respective hsien to the corporation. This led to a furious debate. In conclusion, the election of the councillors as representatives depends on the choice of the people and not upon the councillors themselves.

Self-Elected

A careful study of the representatives to this meeting indicates that they have not been elected by the people, nor do they consider themselves responsible to the people. They are self-elected, since most of them are either government officers or influential persons, both in this province and in their own particular hsien. The fact is crystal clear that these men can easily control the "election" although they always live in Kunming.

To take a typical example: King Lung-chang, one of the members of the Yunnan Government, concurrently the General Manager of You Lung Electricity Company and Yunnan Cotton Factory, was reported to have been elected as the representative of our hsien, Yeonsheng. But to the best of my knowledge, not one of the natives of Yeonsheng cast their ballots into the pigeonhole allotted to him either in that hsien or in Kunming. Is this not clear evidence that he elected himself and now represents only himself at the meeting?

The holding of the election was merely a clumsy sham and an example of sugar-coated democracy. The 72 men on the Board of Directors were elected from the so-called divided-four-districts (Center, East, West and South), according to lists prepared by the chairman of the board.

From the foregoing statement we are able to understand the construction of the corporation and I, a small lao pai hsing, would like to suggest five points for the improvement of the corporation:

(1) Government officers, especially in China, have been accustomed to doing whatever they wish, regardless of the people's will. Vanity profits less than nothing. In order to establish the "People's Enterprise Corporation" in deed as well as in name, all government officials including the commissioners of Education, of Civil Affairs, of Finance, the mayor of Kunming, the director of Yunnan Food Control Bureau, the director of Yunnan Land Administration and the general secretary of Yunnan Government, etc. should not be allowed to be either the shareholder-representatives or members of the board of directors.

Supervision Needed

The people in every hsien should have the power to recall their representative for impeachment or dismissal in the event of any representative being found guilty of corruption. Otherwise, who will safeguard this young corporation which might become a bureaucratic bloc? In a corporation which has been instituted from the top downwards, who can vouch that the people alone have been vested with the rights of shareholders, and who is there to supervise the transfer of properties of the provincial government to the people's corporation and ascertain that it is not just a political sham?

(2) Nepotism and corruption have always been malignant twin bacteria in the blood system of the Chinese government and have made, and still continue to make, the country weaker and weaker. I desire the corporation be purified from these bacteria and then the corruption which spreads into every corner will be reduced to a minimum. Hereafter, all men serving in the corporation must be examined, and hired according to their ability and not their background or connections.

(3) The corporation must check all properties belonging to the abovementioned three organizations and make a detailed report of its findings to the public. Those who are found guilty of embezzlement must be forced to make compensation for the losses and be punished according to the law.

(4) In view of the incompleteness of the census and communication handicaps in this province, it is difficult to issue stocks to every family. I would suggest that every "village" be chosen as a shareholder-representative. Prior to the completion of the census, the corporation should stop issuing the stocks and thus prevent them from falling into the hands of a bureaucratic bloc.

(5) The corporation must act according to the people's wishes and work out a detailed plan which should be put into practice step by step. The successful operations of the YPEB, the Yunnan Provincial Economic Commission and the Yunnan Fu Tien New Bank must be continued. In accordance with the regulations, the corporation should take an active interest in such projects as agriculture, forestry, mining, communications, irrigation, etc. Of course, it will need many specialists to take care of these departments. I would also suggest that the corporation cooperate with Yunnan University in training students for this purpose.

"Well begun is half done" will be a good maxim for the corporation.

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ENGLISH SPOKEN

Reason Versus Reds and Materialism

REV. PATRICK O'CONNOR

MR. LEN JOHNSON did not like my report entitled "Do Reds Respect Religious Freedom?" published in the Review for May 31.

His dislike, expressed in his article, "Religion versus Materialism," is understandable. He is manifestly a fervent and uncritical devotee of Communism, its philosophy and practice. Any job of reporting, no matter how factual, is bound to displease him when it reveals Communists in an activity of which world opinion—irrespective of religious belief—always disapproves.

As a reporter I gave a factual account of the religious persecution, without entering into political controversies. I do not intend to go into them now. Nor did I discuss religions as such or materialism as a philosophy. Mr. Johnson having brought that in, I do intend to discuss it now.

But first I remark that Mr. Johnson does not attempt to challenge any of my facts. He makes general comments, some of them in the peculiarly inexact way of a writer who isn't sure enough to make a definite statement but is biassed enough to make an insinuation.

"Insinuations Unprovable"

His article is written with a slippery pen. Such words as "seems... feel....hunch....we think....perhaps" keep cropping up in his text. I have counted more than 20 rhetorical questions in his relatively short article. Repeated use of such questions is a hackneyed way of making unprovable insinuations and of begging the question.

I should be glad to dissect Mr. Johnson's article phrase by phrase but can hardly hope to receive space in the *Review* for that process.

Before taking up his case for materialism, however, I wish to quote his introduction. It is a good sample.

"The Reverend *seems to feel* that religious freedom is *restricted* by the Communist Government. *Perhaps* this is the case. *What sort* of restriction does the Reverend *seem to be concerned with* mostly?"

The italics are mine.

Has Mr. Johnson read the article to which he is replying? I can only refer him to pages 378, 379 and 380 of *The China Weekly Review* for May 31. There he will see that "the Reverend" didn't "seem to feel" but presented concrete evidence that the Communists, whatever else they may be doing or not doing, have violated, not restricted, religious freedom. Let me quote from my article:

"Communists have violated religious freedom widely, gravely and frequently in most of the areas.... The violations have varied all the way from campaigns of intimidation, occupation of buildings and imposition of fines on absurd pretexts to imprisonment, torture and execution."

The rest of the article gives specific facts. I could give as many more.

With the editor's permission I will deal further with Mr. Johnson on the question of religious persecution next week. This time let's get together on the subject of materialism.

Something's The Matter With Materialism

Here's Mr. Johnson's statement of the materialist creed:

"We materialists are not particularly concerned with spiritual things—in fact, we do not think they exist. What we mean by material things is the universe....composed of matter in the form of solid, liquid or gas. We are of the opinion that nothing exists outside of the universe, that is, outside of nature.... In the scientific world God simply does not exist."

Now let's get a few things clear. Mr. Johnson has proved nothing in the foregoing. He has assumed his materialism to be true and stated it. He has also claimed to speak for the scientific world, without producing any credentials.

He refers to people who believe in religion as "spiritualists." This is not accurate. Christians do not regard human nature as being exclusively spiritual. They are well aware of the body's existence and of the existence of matter in other forms. In fact, some of them have achieved considerable eminence in the analysis and control of matter, as well as in the scientific care of the body. In other words, Mr. Johnson, there have been and are many scientists who are firm believers in religion. That will come up later.

Now let's take a look at Mr. Johnson. According to himself, he's just a mixture of solid, liquid and gas, in other words, mere matter. That, he says, is all there is to any man.

Universal Concepts

Take a look at his article on materialism. Here are a few words he uses: "justice... relationship....inability ....beliefs ....ideas....freedom."

Can you hear, feel, taste, see or smell any of these things? What is their size or density or weight or taste or color or odor?

They are abstractions. They are universal concepts not identifiable with any particular piece of matter. They are immaterial, and still Mr. Johnson knows what they are, and the reader of these lines knows what they are. Nothing material can grasp the immaterial. It is obvious that no hunk of mineral, no quarts of liquid, no cubic feet of gas, and no combination of these material things, can formulate abstract and universal concepts—even as Mr. Johnson has done in his article.

You've something immaterial, that is, spiritual, in your makeup, Mr. Johnson, and it shows even in your argument for materialism!

Furthermore, you reason. Whether you reason correctly or not is another question. But in several places in your article, you take two judgments—sometimes wrong, but still judgment—and from the relation between one judgment and the other, you reach a conclusion. That relation is absolutely immaterial and only an immaterial mind could take hold of it.

"Beasts Act Uniformly...."

Further, Mr. Johnson, you can reflect on yourself. That's something a hunk of mere matter cannot do. And you have the power of choice. Inanimate matter has obviously no power of choice. Brute beasts act uniformly according to sense attraction and instinct. But you can choose to finish reading this article or not, to take down any book from your shelves, or to talk on this subject or that, according to reasons that you decide to be valid.

All these acts demonstrate that your personality is far more than a haphazard jumble of proteins and carbohydrates. A couple of U.S. dollars would buy the chemicals that make up your body, Mr. Johnson—so much sulphur, salt, carbon, albumen, nitrogen, oxygen and so forth. But the mixture would be a long way from being Len Johnson—if, by the way, that is your real name.

Anyhow you're a much more wonderful being than you imagined. You have been denying your own power and dignity. You have a soul. It is not material and will not cease to exist, even when the matter of your body decomposes in death.

You can deny that you have a soul, as a woman can deny her age, but the fact remains.

The Existence Of God

A couple of dollars would buy the chemical constituents of the human body, but how did those chemicals ever get arranged, compounded and organized to form a body? That cannot happen without a more-than-human Chemist. Bluntly, it is irrational to think that the human body was not planned, and the laws of its reproduction planned, and the human race made, by an Intelligent Maker.

Examine any member of the human body—say, the eye or the hand. You find a delicate, exquisitedly designed organ. Was that planned and made by blind matter? Where there is design, whether in the symmetry of snowflakes or the stars or the human body, there must have been an intelligent Designer.

Take some pieces of glass—select them as you will—and some metal—select it as you will—and jumble them up for 10 years, 20 years, a lifetime. Will they ever by sheer chance jumble themselves accidentally into forming a Rolleiflex camera? How long would it take for a miscellaneous lot of protein and carbohydrates, thrown together, to form by accident an apparatus that would extract oxygen from the air and feed it into somebody's bloodstream? Your eyes, Mr. Johnson, are delicate

and marvelous cameras, as you are this moment proving. Your lungs are a delicate and marvelous apparatus for taking oxygen and getting it into your blood. These organs cannot be the product of blind matter. Nature's laws imply a law-Maker.

If a man denies that there is no Designer outside, above and antecedent to nature, then he is committing himself to an absurd position, such as would not be tolerated for a moment in the field of (for instance) engineering or law.

Your own very being, Mr. Johnson, is as constant a reminder of your God as the design and functioning of an automobile is a reminder of its makers. I am not asking for space to take up other facts—the historical record of Christ, His definite credentials, teaching and work. Once more, it is possible to deny these things. One could deny that the Declaration of Independence is authentic. One could deny, if it were convenient, that Abraham Lincoln ever lived. One could deny that a Constitution exists to give authority to the legitimate successor of Lincoln and Washington. But that would not change the facts.

The Scientific World Speaks

We have heard Mr. Johnson speaking for the scientific world. In that world, he says "God simply does not exist."

Now let's hear from the scientific world.

Listen to some of these names: Ampere, founder of the science of electro-dynamics; Volta, inventor of the first galvanic battery; Branly, discoverer of the coherer (for wireless telegraphy); Thomas Dwight, anatomist, of Harvard University; Laennec, discoverer of auscultation, inventor of the stethoscope; Marconi, radio genius; John B. Murphy, famous Chicago surgeon; Pasteur, the father of bacteriology. These men were all Catholics. Nieuwland, discoverer of a method for producing synthetic rubber, was a Catholic priest. Alexis Carrel, Nobel prize winner in medicine and physiology, was a Catholic.

Every Catholic university in China and abroad has its department of science. There are 215 Catholic colleges and universities in the United States, every one of them a testimony to the fact that God does exist in the scientific world.

Many more names could be cited from Protestant records.

Let's hear some statements from contemporary scientists:

> If there is anything which the growth of modern physics should have taught, it is that such dogmatic assertiveness about the whole of what there is or is not in the universe as was represented by *nineteenth century materialism* is unscientific and unsound....
>
> After all that, is there anyone who still talks about the materialism of science? Rather does the scientist join with the Psalmist of thousands of years ago in reverently proclaiming "the Heavens declare the glory of God and the Firmament sheweth His handiwork....Materialism is surely not a sin of *modern* science.

That is not "the Reverend" speaking. That is Robert Millikan of the California Institute of Technology, physicist of international prestige, Nobel prize winner.(1) Listen to him again:

> The second inference that I wish to draw from my review of the growth of modern physics is that there may be some danger that we may not even yet have learned to avoid the *blunder* made by the physics of the *nineteenth century*. This blunder consisted in generalizing farther than the observed facts warranted, in....the assumption that our feeble, finite minds understand completely the basis of the physical universe. Modern science, of the real sort, is slowly learning to walk with God.

Here's Arthur Compton, professor of physics in the University of Chicago:

> Far from being in conflict, science has become an ally of religion....Few indeed are the *scientific men of today* who will defend an atheistic attitude.(2)

Here's Eddington, professor of astronomy in the University of Cambridge:

> The *new conception of the physical universe* puts me in a position to defend religion against a particular charge, viz., the charge of being incompatible with real science.(3)

Sir James Jeans in his book, "The Mysterious Universe," says:

> If the universe is a universe of thought, then its creation must have been an act of thought...*Modern* scientific theory compels us to think of the creator as working outside time and space, which are part of his creation, just as the artist is outside his canvas.(4) (All italics mine).

Finally, allow me to quote Pierre Lecomte du Nouy, whose book "Human Destiny," published in February of this year had gone into its fifth printing in April and has been hailed by Robert Millikan as "a book of such fundamental grasp as cannot be expected to appear more than once or twice in a century." Du Nouy, internationally honored scientist, says:

> The teacher must have no doubts concerning the so-called conflict between science and religion.... He must be honestly and sincerely convinced that this conflict does not arise in the light of modern science. This result can be obtained if his rational, scientific culture, even though superficial, is totally rational, that is, *free of all social or political influence, in accord with the present state of our knowledge and not inspired by a science fifty years old.* (p. 229).

We must take into account the judgment of the majority of great men who have built up our science and our philosophy, who were believers. The vanity of a scientist who, without being sure of leaving the slightest trace in the history of science, decides that a Newton, a Faraday, a Maxwell, an Ampere, or a Pasteur, was intellectually inferior to him strikes us as reaching the limits of paradox. (p. 242).

To Mr. Len Johnson, however, as to Communists everywhere, "in the scientific world, God simply does not exist!"

The scientific world they are living in is clearly antiquated and in its heyday wasn't even a world—just a segment. The hasty and faulty generalizations of smug mid-Victorian materialism are surely the wrong basis for constructing the new China. And they are no justification for confiscating churches in China and maltreating Chinese and foreign ministers of religion, whose only objective is the spiritual and material welfare of the Chinese people.

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1 Millikan, *Science and the New Civilization*, N.Y., 1930, pp., 79, 80, 83.

2 Compton, *The Freedom of Man*, New Haven, 1935, p. XI.

3 Eddington, *New Pathways in Science*, N.Y., 1935, p. 308.

4 Jeans, *The Mysterious Universe*, N.Y., 1930, p. 154.

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Civil War Stepped Up In Honan

MARK M. LU
(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Kaifeng, June 11.

THE closure of the gap at Huayuankou and the diversion of the Yellow River to its old bed, have greatly altered the military situation in Honan, Hopei and Shantung, geographically speaking. The Communists had intended to wipe out government influence, political and military, in Northern Honan, in order to allow consolidation of their strength west of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway and thus deter the government in its aim of restoring communication lines, particularly the northern section of the Peiping-Hankow line.

With this in view, Communist General Liu Po-cheng had risked the capture of the Yellow River bridge, last March, which links the northern and southern sections of this province. He also attempted to seize Sinsiang, railway hub on the Pinghan and Taoching lines, and attack Weihwei, an ideal retreat in the Taihang mountains. This plan failed.

Change Of Strategy

By the middle of April it was apparent that the Communists had changed their tactics by transferring a huge number of their forces from Western Shantung and Southern Shansi in an effort to take Tangyin and Anyang, both on the Pinghan line. Following sanguinary battles which lasted for 20 days, the Communists occupied Tangyin and isolated Anyang.

Recently, however, the Communists effected a voluntary withdrawal from the outskirts of Anyang. Before their departure, in order to block the advance of the government armies, they filled up all the wells in the vicinity of Tangyin and dug transverse trenches which began at Tsaiyuan, east of Tangyin, and ended in Hopei, west of the Pinghan line. Competent observers here interpret these moves as follows:

(1) To Wipe Out Local Militia: Although the local draftees are poorly equipped and constitute no strong fighting force, they are able to impede and obstruct the Communist advance and to threaten them from the rear, which may be one of the reasons the Communists lifted the siege of Anyang and commenced a mopping up of this militia.

(2) To Loot Spring Crops: Wheat and barley have just come up in the fields and the Communists, being in need of foodstuffs, have divided themselves into small groups to reap the spring harvest. Each farmer is left with three "tau" and the rest he delivers to the army. Those who live east of the Pinghan line make deliveries in South Hopei, while those in the west effect deliveries in the Taihang Mountain region.

(3) To Check Government Rescue Forces: If the Government forces succeed in reaching the vicinity of Anyang, the Communists will be hemmed in on both sides, and to avoid this eventuality they have now voluntarily retreated toward Puyang, in South Hopei.

Fierce Battle Rages

One part of the main Communist force is at present located between the Chi and the Wei rivers, and the other part has moved to Puyang to regroup. Judging from the moves of both sides, a fierce battle appears likely to have broken out between the two rivers, east of the Pinghan line, in northern Honan.

Recently, the Communists have also attempted to cross the Yellow River, between Puyang and Tungming, in south Hopei, and it is evident that they are attempting to extend the battle to an area west of the Tsinpu Railway. Whether this new battle does break out or not, depends on the strength of the forces the Communists are able to shift into that area.

To date, the Communists have been active in East Honan, south of the Lunghai Railway, in places such as Yungcheng, Hsiayi, Luyi, Checheng, Shangchiu, Ningling, Kihsien, Taikang, Huaiyang, Chenliu and Tunghsu. Their presence has also been reported in Pohsien and Kuoyang in North Anhwei. *(Editor's Note: A state of emergency was declared in Anhwei last week).* In recent weeks, the Communists have crossed the new course of the Yellow River and have created disturbances in Weishih, Fukou, Yenling, Weichuan, Hsihua, and Chowkou, in the western flooded areas.

As far as information is available, it has been ascertained that the 12,000 soldiers and officers in East Honan are headed by Communist General Chang Shao-hua, with four sub-commanders: Wang Chi-mei, commander of the second and ninth regiments; Wei Feng-lo, commander of the first and third regiments; Li Hao-jen; commander of the seventh and third independent regiments; and Chin Shao-shan, commander of the 30th, 34th and 35th regiments, a special battalion and an infantry battalion.

Divide into Groups

Recently, severe clashes have repeatedly occurred in East Honan between Government and Communist troops, and both sides have suffered heavy losses. The Communists have split into small groups and each of these is assigned to harass certain areas. Wei Feng-lo operates in Huaiyang, Luyi and Checheng; Chin Shao-shan in Yungcheng, Hsiayi, Kuoyang and Pohsien; Wang Chi-mei in Suihsien, Kisien and Taikang; and Wu Chih-pu in the west flooded areas. They have been reported as saying that they will unite to launch an offensive when the autumn crops ripen.

The Communist unit under command of Li Jen-lin, armed with more than 60 light machineguns, eight heavy machineguns, and three trench mortars, penetrated into Peiyang from Tangho, in South Honan, on June 1. The following night it appeared in the Tushan hilly regions, 25 li east of Chusan, after crossing the Pinghan Railway.

More than 500 Communists appeared in Changtsun, a village in Linying, less than 20 li east of the Pinghan Railway, in Central Honan. They were dispersed at the beginning of the month and thus the threat to the railway was removed.

NOTICE TO AMERICAN NATIONALS

LAND REGISTRATION
FOOCHOW & AMOY CONSULAR DISTRICTS

American nationals possessing land rights in the former consular districts of Foochow and Amoy (comprising together the whole of the Province of Fukien) are advised to apply to the land authorities of the districts where the land is situated for registration of their rights. The American Consulate General at Shanghai, which now has consular jurisdiction of the Province of Fukien, is prepared to assist such American nationals in securing registration of their land rights and information concerning procedure may be obtained from this Consulate General.

MONNETT B. DAVIS
AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL

As I Saw The Flooded Area

By CHEN CHI

IN the summer of 1938, a mile-long breach in the Yellow River dyke at Hwayuankou was blasted. Pouring through the gap, the river found a new course, sweeping southward through Honan over 1,400,000,000 mow of land, destroying 13,439 villages, 1,967,910 houses and 433,530 people. The remaining population, estimated to number 887,360, fled to other provinces.

In the flooded area, the majority of the people have been homeless now for more than eight years. Such havoc was created by the flood as no other force of destruction known to man could perpetrate except, perhaps, that wrought by volcano eruptions or the atomic bomb.

The most urgent need is to minimize the hardships and suffering of the people, and through relief activities provide them with food, shelter, clothing and medical care. Then we must bring to bear all available facilities and all the best in technical advice in order to help the people to reconstruct their land, thus achieving the real rehabilitation of the people through giving them a sense of reasonable security and through allowing them to participate in building something which is worthwhile and which will be their own.

CIC Active

For this purpose, I was assigned by the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives' Headquarters in Shanghai to join an UNRRA-CNRRA program in Honan last year. Having stayed for some time at Fukou, out of which we made several surveys up to Liensze and nearby villages, I accompanied Mr. Hart on a visit to the road which had been under repair between Liensze and Hunghwachi.

We had to walk to Hsihwa and Chowchiakou, a long stretch of barren no-man's-land covered with silt. We saw few habitable houses. The villagers make a very sparse living by digging and cutting wood from trees covered with silt from the flood, but these small sources of income will soon be exhausted.

Cooperatives on a work-relief basis have been introduced. Those who are without means of earning a living are organized into teams comprising 18 persons, of whom a certain number are supervisors and skilled workers. These latter receive five catties of flour a day, while rank and file members receive two and one-half catties. A large majority are employed in road repairing, while house-building keeps busy all the available carpenters and masons.

Cooperation Stressed

Almost every aspect of the rehabilitation program is based on the cooperative activity of the people in the flooded area villages, to a greater or lesser degree depending on what project is being undertaken. For some purposes, it is anticipated that cooperatives will be quite loosely organized, while for others, a formal organization will be necessary. When villages were issued wheat seed on loan last fall, a loosely organized cooperation was employed with villagers taking joint responsibility to repay the loans. Farm animals purchased at the same time and collected in animal pools were also used jointly by the farmers.

The cooperatives assure sufficient individual participation so that the individual is assured a just share, at the same time as it provides machinery for distribution. Where large-scale work-relief projects are required, the cooperative provides the organizational basis and assurance that these work-relief projects, which form part of the rehabilitation program of this area, meet the people's needs.

Cooperative activities are relied upon because cooperation is an element to the solution of almost every major problem involving the distribution of limited equipment. The cooperative assures the maximum use of the minimum of equipment. In this way we distributed 76,780 bags of flour, each of 48½ lbs. In addition to 67,000 bags of flour and 900 bales of used clothing for emergency relief, there are 11 feeding stations at Hsihwa, Fukou, Chungmou, Weishih and Yenling handling a total of 1,438 bags of flour, 375 bags of bean flour, 94 sacks of beans, 493 cases of canned food, 10 cases of butter, 77 cases of milk, 40 bales of used clothing and CNC$10,-162,903 for relief purposes. Up to the end of 1946, 18 milk stations had been set up in the flooded areas for the benefit of under-nourished children and were given stocks of 18,000 lbs. of evaporated milk and 307,608 lbs. of powdered milk.

Many Agencies

Some of the projects mentioned have been carried out either by CNRRA authorities or by relief agencies such as Catholic and Protestant church missions, government and local organizations. The Catholics are taking a most active part on behalf of their fellow Church people.

Prior to the war, most of the people in this area supplemented the incomes from their small farms by doing various sorts of handicraft, such as weaving, spinning and dyeing. But much of their equipment was destroyed in the flood. We found that the production of looms was important, so the CIC carpenters' cooperative was formed and CNC$1,000,000 was spent on materials to assist in this rehabilitation work. With another loan fund of CNC$1,000,000 a sewing cooperative was organized, comprising 12 members. Six regulation sewing machines were put into use and three months' flour was donated for work-relief.

We organized the people from the ranks of unemployed workers and also by visiting various guilds and talking with interested people. Each potential member was carefully interviewed as to his experience, needs, family situation and suitability as a co-op member. We found that the workers, most of whom were recruited either from itinerant refugee groups or sufferers in the flooded area, had not the least understanding of the aims of the cooperative. We explained to them that at first they were to remodel used clothing for orphans and invalids, but that later they were to run their own businesses on a work-together or cooperative principle and teach their craft to others.

Agricultural Problem

The most important question, of course, is how to develop agricultural production and help the refugees overcome such difficulties as securing plowing animals, farming implements, fertilizers and seeds since most of the population are farmers. Another urgent matter to be settled is the land problem.

According to the Honan Provincial Government, devastated land in almost unlimited quantities may be used by any refugees provided he is capable of putting it under cultivation. However, should the owner of the land return, the ownership reverts to him from the date of his arrival along with a revenue of 30 percent of the harvest in kind. Should the owner not return, the 30 percent rent-in-kind is payable to the government. The whole situation is completely confused.

Since huge areas once-flooded land reappeared after the closure of the gap, it is almost impossible to tell the ownership of what once were individual lots of land. Landmarks have almost all been obliterated. Most of the returned peasants are not the original owners, but are destitute and have no equipment. For their future well-being they depend mostly on relief supplies from CNRRA-UNRRA. This affords an opportunity for the re-distribution of the land and for the organization of collective farming.

Ownership of the land should be a guaranty for payment of government taxes or as the farmer's share of capital in the farming cooperatives. Without cooperative (or collective) farming, it is difficult to make use of tractors either technically in tractor operation and repair or economically in tractor maintenance and the cost of fuel. The experience in Weishih demonstrated that after the land was plowed it was found that less people were needed to sow the seeds.

Only after the agrarian reform, which means the system of collecting farming, has been effected and contracts signed between the cooperatives and the tractor organizations, can we tackle the problem of reconstruction in the former flooded areas.

Commodities, Shares Again Climb; Inflow Eases Money Tightness

FINANCIAL quotations and commodity prices increased as last week drew to a close. Rice, which had dropped to CNC$350,000, rose again to CNC$400,000 per picul on June 14 as costs in the producing areas appreciated. Quotations of stocks and shares also moved up.

The firm trend was attributed once again to military reasons. In view of the extension of civil war activities in North China, large sums of capital are reported to have been sent here from Tientsin. With large sums of idle capital, the Northern merchants are reported to have started during the past week to buy anything available, including gold bars, as well as stocks and shares in the Shanghai Securities Exchange.

Although, according to general conditions and precedent, the local money market should be tight by the end of this month because of the semi-annual settlement. Money has become easy locally because of the continuous inflow of money from Tientsin.

Yarn, Cloth Up

Prices for cotton yarn and cotton cloth rose also during the week as the government ruled that textile goods may be shipped to Hankow, all-important distribution port for Central China. Trading in raw silk and artificial silk, however, was quiet. On the whole, silk merchants were busy because of the collection of spring cocoons in Kiangsu and Chekiang Provinces.

Well-informed business circles state that up to June 13, a total of 83,000 piculs of cocoons had been gathered in Chekiang and another 109,647 piculs in Kiangsu. The cost was reported to be CNC$150,000 per picul. For the collection of these cocoons, the government banks have advanced a loan of CNC$250,000,000,000.

In regard to trade, the most important news during the past week was the organization of a special office in Canton for the control of imports and exports. This office aims to check the smuggling from Hongkong. Another measure of great importance was the decision of the authorities to ban the transshipment of imported goods from Canton to Shanghai. This was also calculated to check the smuggling.

Gold Dollars Sought

Meanwhile, the Government has given the Central Trust definite instructions to purchase native products for export, in an attempt to obtain foreign exchange. In the near future, the Central Trust expects to collect as much as 100,000 tons of tung oil and 8,000 piculs of bristles for export.

It is also reported that the Central Trust, finding it too unprofitable to export raw silk, has decided to attempt to exchange Chinese raw silk for American artificial silk. Because of the high price of rayon in China and the low price in New York, it is likely to be highly profitable to exchange raw silk for rayon.

Much criticism has been voiced by the local press against the resumption of trade with Japan in the middle of next August. In general, Chinese businessmen are opposed to this move, believing that it will greatly hamper the development of China's export trade and thus will increase the unfavorable balance of China's foreign trade.

Wholesale commodity prices in Shanghai again rose during the week ended June 7. The following table gives the figures:

Shanghai Wholesale Commodity Price Index 1936—1

	Week Ending May 31	Week Ending June 7
Food	27,836	28,799
Textiles	29,919	32,969
Metals	47,096	47,601
Construction Materials	47,261	47,297
Chemicals	52,869	56,995
Fuel	35,187	35,800
Miscellaneous	31,421	33,604
General Index	34,254	35,914

Commodity prices during the week are given below:

	June 7 CNC$	June 14 CNC$
Bonds C	8,600	7,600
Wing On Textile	5,500	6,490
Ewo Cotton	58,000	66,000
Rice	420,000	410,000
Wheat flour	125,000	105,000
Peanut Oil	510,000	525,000
20's Yarn	7,650,000	7,650,000
Raw silk	24,700,000	23,500,000
Rayon	18,400,000	18,900,000
Ruby Queen Cigarettes	61,100	61,500
Koc Ban Soap	367,000	362,000
My Dear Matches	2,650,000	2,560,000
Newsprint	200,000	215,000

BUSINESS FOOT-NOTES

China will get an additional allocation of 12,000 tons of grain from the United States in August, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. India will obtain 92,000 tons of grain, including 25,000 tons of wheat, 25,000 tons of flour, 17,000 tons of corn and 25,000 tons of grain sorghum.

* * *

The House of Representatives this week passed the controversial Wool Bill providing for an import duty on wool brought to the United States. The bill was passed in the face of the Administration's expressed disapproval. The Senate had earlier voted the bill. Secretary of State George Marshall warned Congress that in accepting the tariff on imported wool, they would "stymie," the international trade conference currently meeting at Geneva, one of whose objectives is the removal of trade barriers.

* * *

An estimated 200,000 seamen went on strike in the United States this week when their contracts expired and ship operators refused to reconsider the clauses on wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions. An estimated 1,000 vessels were affected on Monday. One of the seamen's demands is a 40-hour week.

* * *

Completing its inaugural round trip between Shanghai and San Francisco, a CNAC DC-4 Skymaster returned here early this week—one day behind schedule, owing to unfavorable weather conditions. CNAC has commenced a regular trans-Pacific schedule, using four-engined luxury airliners.

* * *

The Ministry of Finance has instructed the Shanghai Direct Tax Bureau to simplify the auditing system in estimating business income tax payments. These measures are adopted in compliance with the Emergency Economic Measures for improving the revenue system. The authorities will examine the books of a limited number of firms and compute an average amount which will become the standard business income tax payment for firms whose annual income exceeds CNC$400,000,000, or whose net annual profit is more than CNC$200,000,000.

* * *

The Ministry of Communications has announced that steamship companies have been allowed to hike their passenger fares along the Nanking-Shanghai route by 100 percent, beginning June 15. The ministry denied that the passenger and freight rates on the Nanking-Shanghai Railway are to be raised.

* * *

The Chinese government has purchased 500,000 tons of rice abroad and of this quantity 350,000 tons are already on the way here. The rice was bought to meet the food shortage expected before the autumn harvest and to stabilize fluctuating commodity prices. About 150,000 tons were purchased with funds recently voted by Congress for relief purposes, according to *UP*.

* * *

In spite of a series of crippling strikes last year, American corporate profits after tax deduction reached the record level of US$12,500,000,000 in 1946, exceeding the 1943 wartime peak by US$2,000,000,000, according to the Commerce Department. Gross profits before taxes amounted to US$21,001,000,000, about US$3,500,000,000 less than the 1943 record.

* * *

A serious economic crisis has developed in Manchuria following the spread of battle areas. Exports of soybeans and bristles have practically come to a halt and large sums of idle capital have been remitted to Tientsin and Shanghai, the *Sin Wan Pao* said. Coal output has fallen off considerably and government revenue has decreased.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Szepingkai, Changchun, Kirin Isolated; Tientsin Encircled

WHILE unrest continued in many universities throughout the country—the students reportedly returning to classes in a half-hearted manner—the student movement against the civil war and improved education facilities was overshadowed this week by military developments.

In the wake of the promised "counter-offensive" which the Communists announced as imminent a couple of weeks ago, fighting grew in intensity in Manchuria and spread to Jehol and North China, Hopei in particular.

In Manchuria, according to Communist claims, the Government salient has been "trisected," and Szepingkai, Changchun and Kirin are reportedly mere islands in a sea of "Liberated Areas." The Reds also announced that the linking of their various scattered areas as a result of their recent large-scale drive to the south, in the course of which they claimed capture of more than 20 county towns and major railway stations, would "facilitate the next push."

The latest reports about fighting in the Szepingkai enclosure said that the Communists had first shelled the city with artillery, then captured the airfield, four miles from the city, and finally broke into the streets, where fighting was in progress early this week. From these reports, which gave evidence that the Communists had launched their first frontal attack on a Government-held city in the entire history of the Civil War, it was possible to expect the fall of Szepingkai to the Reds.

In Jehol, which appears to be an enlargement of the Communist offensive in the Northeast, several major towns passed into Communist hands. Among these were: Chihfeng, Kienping and Fengning. Yehposhow was surrounded by Red forces.

Early this week press reports said that the Communists had landed on the coast of the Po Hai Gulf, near Tientsin, and swooping down on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, captured the railway station of Tsanghsien, cut the railway between Peiping and Tientsin, and Peiping and Kalgan, and in general disorganized traffic in that area.

Initial reports of the Communist landing said they had arrived on the coast from Chefoo, but later it was said that the landing meant the crossing of the Grand Canal in that area. However it may have been, East Hopei has now become an area of intense fighting with Tientsin preparing for defense of its outskirts and streets, the pillboxes erected last year at last coming in handy.

The seriousness of the situation in Hopei was seen from the speedy reshuffle which occurred in Government headquarters in that area. Gen. Li Tsung-jen has been entrusted with the defense of Peiping, and General Sun Lien-chung with that of Tientsin. An official of the Tientsin municipal government declared that while Tientsin always surrendered without a fight in the past, things would be different this time. A battle was reported in progress in the Tangku area, a few hours after United States Marines left that port.

In North Honan, Antung was still under siege by Communist troops, while in West Shansi the fighting was not spectacular, but determined. Government sources said nothing of developments in Shensi, around Yenan, but the Communists claimed that their militia and irregulars were seriousiy harassing Gen. Hu Tsungnan. Among other things, they boasted that Gen. Hu would be unable to leave Shensi without losing his entire force.

There was renewed military activity in North Kiangsu, across the Yangtze from Shanghai, with the Reds claiming to have captured a town barely 40 miles from this city. In Southwest Shantung, in Hotze county, the Government offensive had come to an end, the results of the mopping operations not having been announced.

On the whole, the last three weeks were characterized by Communist claims of repeated victories and successes, particularly in the Northeast. Among other claims, the Reds said they captured six Government lieutenant-generals and 26 major-generals between January and May 31.

Peace Plan Not Drawn Up By Political Body

THE Kuomintang Political Council, deliberating on the PPC resolution calling for the drafting of a "last offer to the Communists" in the form of a peace plan, failed to agree on the essential details and is due to tackle the problem again soon. The council unanimously agreed that "the Government's present situation is extremely grave," according to *UP*. Some members have suggested that the Government withdraw from Manchuria to strengthen its position in China proper. The council was divided on the peace plan, part arguing that it was impossible to resume parleys with the Reds, part arguing that the gravity of the situation called for an end of the Civil War.

* * *

STUDENT UNREST

THE prevalent kind of student activities reported in the last few days consisted of petitions and requests for the release of arrested students, of whom an undetermined number continue to be held. But more unrest was presaged by a *Central News* report that the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs had wired Mayor W. C. Wu asking him to investigate the activities of the Shanghai Students' Federation, which they said was "an illegal body" not having applied for registration with either of the ministries. "As there are no stipulations in Government legal statutes authorizing the organization of such federations, the authorities concerned should ban this illegal body," the wire said.

In Peiping, the students of Peita and Tsinghua Universities staged a strike to commemorate students killed in the Wuhan June 1 incident. The Shanghai Medical College faculty association decided to start summer vacation immediately because the students refused to attend classes. According to the *Shun Pao*, the students have refused to take the premature vacation.

* * *

SINKIANG

THE province of Sinkiang came into the limelight just as suddenly as it returned into the background a few days later. A report carried by *Central News* from Tihua on June 9, asserted that troops of the Mongolian People's Republic had penetrated into Sinkiang territory to a depth of about 200 miles, supported by planes bearing Soviet insignia. Local papers carried numerous reports of the alleged invasion and a Government official told the press in Nanking that the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow had been instructed to protest to both the USSR and the MRP.

The U.S. State Department's reaction to these initial reports was laconic and to the effect that border clashes had previously and repeatedly occurred in that area. Meanwhile, the major part of the Chinese press launched a campaign "to oust the invaders" and advocated a firm policy in maintaining the country's territorial sovereignty.

While nothing has been clarified to date, the incident was played down in the press following a *Tass* denial of Soviet planes participating in this incident, and later an *AFP* report from Ulan Bator, capital of Outer Mongolia, saying that the Mongols maintained that the incident started when a Chinese detachment crossed into MRP territory in the "Peitashan mountain range" and refused to leave. Operations were then undertaken by the Mongols to dislodge the Chinese forces, according to *AFP*, the Mongols refraining from crossing over into Sinkiang territory. A protest would be lodged with China over this incident, the Mongols said.

Before the arrival of these two denials, speculation was rife as to the aims of the "invading forces" uranium deposits reportedly discovered in that area being cited as one of the major objectives.

A considerable amount of cold water was poured by Secretary

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

THE American press last week commented on the American note sent to the USSR over the events in Hungary, and likewise studied the British plan for Indian independence promulgated recently.

* * *

INDIA

THE *New York Times* noted that the acceptance of the British plan by the Moslem league for the partition of India, apparently assures the birth of Pakistan, but inquired: "Will Pakistan work?"

In one way, Pakistan will be strong, the *Times* noted, for it will be populated by 100,000,000 people, "good workers and good fighters, if need be." Its agricultural resources are enormous, but it has practically no important power industry. So through two second rate ports it must export enough food and raw material to bring in the manufactured goods it must have, the paper said.

"Obviously such a state cannot walk alone today, and Pakistan is therefore even more anxious than Hindustan to retain dominion status. She will need British help for a long time, not only for purposes of security but to aid in untangling the web that now joins the entire Indian community. The Indian Army, the finest in Asia, will have to be split along religious lines. Railroads, postal service, business network, irrigation system and a hundred other activities must all be separated. Not until Pakistan and Hindustan begin the actual process of divorcement will they realize how much the British did to knit them together," The *Times* concluded.

The *New York Herald Tribune* remarked on the problem engendered by the criss-crossing of railroads and added:

"It is all very well for the Moslem leaders to promise astounding benefits from Moslem government, but what is to happen when a train running between two Moslem cities crosses half a dozen areas that are part of Hindustan? Are the passengers to carry passports and submit them several times a day? Are they to open their baggage several times within a few hours merely because the railroads were planned by engineers and not by religious leaders?

"Questions like these indicate that the officials of Pakistan and Hindustan, since they presumably will be the same men, will find it necessary to cooperate, whether they enjoy it or not. The necessity to cooperate will be so obvious and so pressing that it hardly can be ignored," the paper concluded.

* * *

HUNGARY

THE State Department's note protesting alleged Soviet action in Hungary in relation to that country's internal affairs, and the note to Bulgaria which expressed concern over the suppression of political rights in Bulgaria, have been widely commented upon by American newspapers.

On the Hungarian affair the majority of papers were agreed that the United States Government was correct in lodging a vigorous protest against the "violation of the Yalta agreement."

The *Washington Star* declared: "The United States note to the USSR and the sharp note to Bulgaria on the suppression of political freedom there, indicate that the United States is determined to hold the Soviet Union accountable before the world for breaking solemn agreements and making a mockery of the democratic process."

"What has been happening in Bulgaria and Hungary is fundamentally the same as what has happened elsewhere in the Soviet orbit. Stated simply, it represents a Moscow-led drive to promote Moscow's dominance by denying democracy to the people of that part of the world," the *Star* declared.

The *New York Times* said that "it is evident that the Russians are in a hurry. In Bulgaria, the method of getting rid of opposition is even more brash, if possible, than the procedure in Hungary. In all the Soviet dominated states, in any case, the fiction of the 'democratic front' is being rapidly dropped and the Communist minority is openly seizing full power."

The *New York Herald Tribune* wrote: "For the first time in documents of this weight and formal significance, the United States has defined what it understood 'democracy' to mean when it signed the Yalta agreement. It flatly repudiates the Soviet contention that the seizure of power by a Communist minority, which thereafter consolidates its position by the liquidation of all opponents and the prompt application of the security police and press censorship, can be called 'democracy.'

"For the first time it declares that the use of those methods constitutes a 'most flagrant intervention' in the affairs of the country concerned, that it is in direct 'violation of the Yalta agreement' and the numerous instruments for the joint administration of the postwar world which were founded upon them, and that it demands a reconsideration by the Yalta powers (whether by investigating committee, or, as is intimated, through reference to the United Nations) of the basis on which they and the world system are standing. This is getting down to bedrock."

The paper concluded that if the note to Hungary means anything it still demands "implementation by something more than words."

Marshall in Washington on the incident when he said that it "might be one of the many border incidents which have occurred in recent months." A Chinese Ministry of Interior spokesman in Nanking said that it would be wrong to regard the "invasion as an ordinary border incident."

Of considerable interest is the Mongol charge that when the Chinese forces were dislodged from Mongolian territory a messenger who was first sent for parleys and four frontier guards were discovered with marks of severe torture on their corpses.

There was no connection, it is said, between the departure of Soviet Ambassador Appolon Petrov from Nanking to Moscow this week, with the official treatment of the border clash between Sinkiang and MRP last week.

While the incident was still in progress several Chinese reports alleged that the MRP was giving aid to the Chinese Communists in arms and that Chinese Communist officers were trained in Mongolia. The official Mongolian newspaper *Unen* denied these reports with the following sentence:

"These reports are a clumsy attempt by the Kuomintang to divert attention of the Chinese public from the fact that the Kuomintang itself is receiving military aid from several other countries."

* * *

LABOR

THE crisis which came with the student movement had hardly subsided when another began to take shape over the Cost of Living index raised to 23,500 times the 1936 base on May 30. Labor disputes swamped the Bureau of Social Affairs and "scattered skirmishes were developing into a general battle between management and workers," according to the *China Press*.

Last week the police were called out to disperse hundreds of male and female workers who had gathered at the Social Affairs Bureau. As could have been predicted earlier, the managements of several factories refused to pay wages according to the new COL index, claiming that such a step would plunge them into bankruptcy. The workers, however, insisted on implementation of the new Government announced mea-

EAT AT

Jimmy's

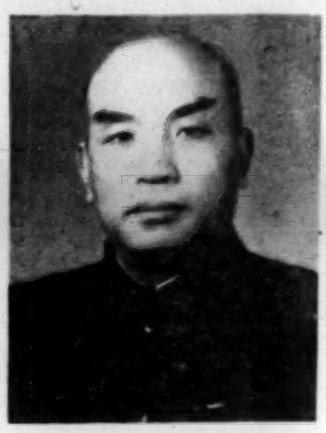
133 Nanking Road

Shanghai

Branch 11-3 Rue Montauban

Who's Who in China

SHIH SHAN-KUAN (Stansun Shih), jurist and government official; born at Tungcheng, Anhwei, January 1, 1899; graduated from Tokyo University, Japan, in law; later attended law school, University of Berlin, Germany; Doctor of



(史尚寬字月生)

Dr. Shih Shan-kuan

Law, University of Paris, France; returning to China, became professor of law at Chungshan University, Canton, 1927; member of Legislative Yuan, 1938; secretary-general, Examination Yuan, since 1942; taught at National Central University and Law School, Central Political Institute; drafted Chinese Criminal Code, Bankruptcy Law and Labor Law; revised Chinese Criminal Code and participated in drafting the constitution; author of "Comments on the Introduction to Civil Law," published by Hui Wen Tan; "Principles of Civil Law," published by Ta Tung Book Co.; "Principles of Labor Law," published by World Book Co.; "Principles of Trust Law," published by Commercial Press, and "Principles of Agrarian Law," lecture delivered at Central Political Institute; member of Chinese National Institute of Law and Chinese Administrative Institute; address; Examination Yuan, Nanking.

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sure. Official circles indicated that there would be no retrenchment of the original order unfreezing the index at the current level.

All the known forms of strikes, including sitdown, walkout and hunger strikes, occurred, while industry-wide strikes were staged by workers in the beancurd shops, umbrella factories and needle weaving plants. Police authorities, meanwhile, issued a statement expressing the hope that no violence would be resorted to in these disputes.

The recent session of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague adopted a resolution recognizing as the only legal Chinese labor body the Chinese Labor Association currently quartered in Hongkong, spurning the official General Labor Union here.

Wealthy conscripts in Canton are employing agents to recruit "substitutes" from among Hongkong's unemployed and destitute, according to *Reuter's*. The agents are offering CNC$800,000 for each recruit.

What Chinese Papers Say...

FOLLOWING the *Central News* report that Mongolian troops had invaded Sinkiang province, the Government-controlled papers hastened to comment in acrimonious terms against this incident. The *Ta Kung Pao* refrained from immediate comment withholding its editorial until later dispatches arrived. All papers, with the exception of the *Wen Wei Pao*, *Lien Ho Jih Pao*, and the *Sin Min Wan Pao*, still under ban, commented on Hungarian events.

Besides these subjects, the papers continued to comment on the resumption of private trade with Japan, and the continuing crisis in the local economic field engendered by labor-management disputes this week.

* * *

SINKIANG

ALTHOUGH the tone and tenor of both official and editorial comment on the border incident between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic were toned down by midweek, the initial press reaction to the *Central News* report, subsequently denied by both the USSR and the MRP, was both violent and militant.

Thus, the *Ho Ping Jih Pao*, KMT Army organ, called on Soviet Russia, which is one of the leading United Nations, to behave herself and "put a stop to this crisis." The paper called on the Chinese Government to "take effective action in connection with this incident."

Unbearable provocation, declared the *Chung Yang Jih Pao* in connection with the incident and added that "the nation's sacred territorial integrity must not be violated." No matter what the cause, an unbearably serious incident has been brought about.

The *Tung Nan Jih Pao* said that the Soviet Union must be held responsible for any actions taken by Outer Mongolia, "while the Government should take effective measures to put a stop to these atrocious acts."

Many papers carried editorials on consecutive days, until the incident subsided. The *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, in a second editorial, reminded the MRP that it should be blamed "for having forgotten that she was originally part of China," and at the same time hold Soviet Russia responsible to a certain extent.

The *Sin Wan Pao*, reputedly a CC organ, called on Soviet Russia to lodge a protest with the Mongolian Republic over the incident. It reminded the Mongols that they were a new nation and it "is regrettable that their actions have been so rash."

The *Chung Yang Jih Pao* carried yet a third editorial, in which it reviewed the history of Mongolian-Chinese relations and shifted the weight of its accusations against the Mongolians, soft-pedaling alleged Soviet participation in the incident.

Finally, the *Ta Kung Pao*, which had not carried the *Central News* report on the date it was issued, penned an editorial and said:

"The fact now is that Mongolian cavalry has invaded our Sinkiang province and has been given encouragement by the Soviets. This is entirely contrary to what China originally hoped for."

The *Ta Kung Pao* added: "We hope that the Outer Mongolian Government will order an early withdrawal of its troops, so that the incident will be limited in nature. We further hope that Soviet Russia will be cautious and will avoid doing anything that is harmful to Sino-Soviet relations."

* * *

HUNGARY

ALL the Government controlled papers interpreted the crisis in Hungary as being due to the machinations of the USSR and served various "warnings" about the maintenance of peace in the world. The *Ta Kung Pao*, however, saw in the Hungarian exchange of notes an expansion of the American influence into Europe, "as far as little Hungary," and declared that U.S. reputation would "suffer" if this went on.

The *Sin Wan Pao*, said that "judging from her latest actions, Soviet Russia is now doing everything in her power to gain control of Eastern Europe.

"Having become impatient, Soviet Russia has now caused the Communists in the various Eastern European countries to wrest governing power by force. There can be no doubt that as a result of this, relations between the USSR, and Britain and the United States, will become more strained,"

The *Ta Kung Pao* said that the crisis in Hungary made one realize the intensification of the international struggle. The post-war international struggle for supremacy has already developed to such a stage that it is far removed from the noble purposes of the UN.

"We are worried not about the internal political problems of Hungary, but rather of the results of the intensification of the international struggle," the paper said.

"In view of recent developments, the United States appears to have taken over from Britain the heavy responsibility of maintaining peace and order in the Middle East. More recently, the United States, with its capitalistic policy, has entered Hungary, which lies behind the iron curtain, a fact which is rather surprising. Americans in the post-war period hope to be able to manipulate the international situation by means of their wealth alone. While we disfavor the system of spheres of influence, yet we feel that the current American policy, which is grandiose and expanded, is not a wise way of maintaining the good reputation of the United States," the *Ta Kung Pao* concluded.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

The Press

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION, *A Play in Three Acts by Konstantin Simonov, Published by the Epoch Publishers, Shanghai, 1947. Reviewed by Urii Sdobnikov.*

IT would be an understatement to declare that the play has aroused some controversy. Simonov has written a play that puts the finger on the dividing line between the free press and the other, or as the author himself exemplifies: between the America of Abraham Lincoln and the America of William Randolph Hearst. For this very reason the play will be both welcomed and repudiated, as it already is, for there are two Americas. It will be welcomed by those who stand for a free, impersonal press, devoid of its lords, and in which there is no place for publishers like Hearst, McCormick and Luce. It will be acclaimed by people who believe that even as monopolies have no business manipulating the people's livelihood (in this case American) so the monopolies of the press have no business regulating the stuff that comes with the people's breakfast. In fact, it will be the liberals of all countries who will laugh at the speeches of McPherson, the publisher, and rejoice at the victory of Harry Smith, the correspondent.

The other portion of the audience, and it is still substantial, which professes to believe that the existence and activity of such publishers as Patterson, McCormick and Hearst do not detract from the freedom of the American press, will regard McPherson's speeches as "ridiculous" and Smith's recantation of prescribed reporting as highly "suspicious." This part of the audience, if it will ever attend the show, will undoubtedly dub Simonov's play propaganda.

The Russian Question has already been called propaganda, which it undoubtedly is in favor or ridding the free press of such moguls as are well known to exist therein, exploiting their unusual position and almost unlimited power for personal benefit and gain.

There could hardly be an honest person who has not viewed with indignation and a certain amount of fear the workings of such gigantic press monopolies as *Time* and *Life*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*. Millions of people have been brought up on their kind of news presentation, which, garnished with all the trappings of attractive advertising, comic strips and color printing, have become indispensable in millions of homes. And for this very reason Simonov's play assumes its highly controversial character, inasmuch as it sheds light, in a literary manner, on that part of the American press which is the expression of the personal political views (and incidentally economic interests) of powerful publishers.

The substance of Simonov's play is nothing new or radical. If the author had not recently returned from the United States he could have been suspected of taking his plot from a book like John Tebbel's An American Dynasty, which is nothing but a life story of the Medill-Patterson - McCormick families. In fact, here is what Tebbel says about one correspondent who stayed to work for McCormick:

"The most amazing of *Tribune* correspondents was Donald Day, who filed *Tribune* partyline stories for more than 20 years from northern Europe. Day covered Russia from Riga, Latvia. His stories dealing with Russia were published in Chicago under the most fantastic head-lines, the whole being a strictly *Tribune* depiction of international events. Day was the most consistent of correspondents: not one of his stores was pro-Russian."

Tebbel also tells of another correspondent who didn't like dictation and left Publisher McCormick. George Seldes, while in Germany, was ordered to produce a story on the failure of government-owned and operated railroads:

"Not knowing that McCormick was compiling a case against Government operation of American railroads, Seldes sent a story about the success of German government railroads. Next day he got a long set of instructions from the Paris office telling him exactly what to put in his story. Irked, Seldes made a complete inquiry and proved his point. He cabled a long story, complete with facts and figures, but it was never printed."

These two short stories form Simonov's plot, only Harry Smith is more Seldes than Day, for the former is currently publishing the weekly *In Fact*, which he calls An Antidote For Falsehood In the Daily Press. Hence Simonov's play has ample basis in fact and it would be puerile to call it mere propaganda. As far as is known, no one has sued Tebbel for libel—a procedure in which McCormick has much experience—and it would be natural to assume that Tebbel's stories have basis in fact. Therefore, Simonov's play has equal basis in fact.

Incidentally, the typical reaction to the Russian Question of publishers like Luce, his followers, and persons otherwise interested in denying the existence of the obvious, has been one of attempting to smear Simonov's play by asserting that the Soviet writer has attacked the American press *as a whole*. As a matter of fact, Simonov has done nothing of the kind, as will be clear to anyone who has bothered to read the play. On the contrary, Simonov's play has a "happy ending" with Harry Smith refusing to write to McPherson's dictation: an obvious triumph of freedom of the press.

To assert that Simonov attacks the entire American press would be to suggest that the American press is controlled by publishers of the McPherson type, which is clearly not the case. But it has always been a clever ruse on the part of the reactionary section of the press to embrace all the people of the United States when only the monopolies are attacked, and likewise, to include all newspapers, when only the dirtier part of the press is lampooned.

Most assuredly, Simonov cannot be accused of being anti-American, although he could be dubbed un-American, in the sense of that popular House Committee.

There have also been attempts to distort the character of the Russian Question in certain quarters by flat assertions that Simonov has portrayed the American correspondent and reporter as an all-out drunk. This is not exactly true, although a number of individuals connected with the pen do toss off a few short ones in the space of three acts. However, the positive type journalist, Smith, drinks just as heavily as the others, while McPherson, the villain of the piece, never touches the stuff, which does not make him a less dictatorial publisher.

Simonov has obviously chosen the Russian Question as the criterion for freedom of the press because the Russian desire for peace and Russian actions have been so consistently distorted in the reactionary section of the American press. Simonov has McPherson order Harry Smith to write a book called Why Do Russians Want War? Simonov asserts peace, when Smith hands in a book entitled Russians Want Peace. John Fisher's recent Why They Behave Like Russians? is a near life replica of this incident.

There is nothing in the play to suggest that it is detrimental to the "promotion of international understanding" unless, of course, William Randolph Hearst is voted the typical American. And that things have not yet come to this pass is best evident from Henry Wallace's *New Republic* which denounces the press barons just as vigorously as does Simonov, even if with less literary flourish.

Whatever may be said for or against the play, there can be no doubt that Simonov has written a "best seller." Here, if you like, is one view of a free press, fettered by ambitious and unscrupulous men.

This cartoon appeared in the local Soviet Russian-language NEW LIFE on the occasion of the ban imposed on Simonov's play "The Russian Question" by the Social Affairs Bureau, after two initial performances. The reason, as reported by the Soviet paper: "detrimental to international relations."

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NANKING-SHANGHAI LINE
TIME TABLE

72	4	76	6	8	78	2	10	12	16	TRAIN NO.	1	5	15	7	71	3	9	11	75	77
"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	II, III Local	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II Nanking Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	STATIONS	I, II Hangchow Throu. Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	II, III Local	II, III Local Exp.
6.40	7.00	7.30	9.00	11.00	12.15	13.30	21.50	23.00	23.30	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	14.45	16.25	18.25	19.35	22.20	22.45	6.35	8.00	10.25	17.10
		8.55	10.16	12.14	13.48		23.27		0.56	D KUNSHAN D		15.24	17.09	18.22			5.28		8.34	16.05
	8.41	9.42	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	1.43	A SOOCHOW D	13.06	14.33	16.23	17.36	20.31	21.06	4.39	5.39	7.10	15.19
8.31	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
9.25	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A WUSIH D	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	D WUSIH A	12.04	13.18	15.08	16.21		30.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
	10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	4.13	D CHANGCHOW A	11.06	12.09	13.55	15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20		
	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A TANYANG D		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
	11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	5.20	D TANYANG A		11.05	12.37	13.55		18.03	1.02	2.00		
	12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	6.02	A CHINKIANG D	9.32	10.28	11.44	13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07		
	12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	6.09	D WEST A	9.24	10.21	11.38	12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00		
	13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.15	7.50	A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00		

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	4,000.	10,000.	2,000.	5,000.	1,000.	2,500.			
SOOCHOW	87	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	2,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	20,000.
WUSIH	129	10,000.	12,000.	5,000.	6,000.	2,500.	3,000.	19,500.	10,500.	20,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	14,000.	16,000.	7,000.	8,000.	3,500.	4,000.	19,500.	10,500.	
TANYANG	213	16,000.	20,000.	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	30,000.	16,500.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	18,000.	22,000.	9,000.	11,000.	4,500.	5,500.	30,000.	16,500.	
NANKING	312	24,000.	28,000.	12,000.	14,000.	6,000.	7,000.	30,000.	16,500.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	23.55	D SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.23	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	D KASHING A	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A D	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	D CHANGANTSENG A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.25	A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	4,000.	10,000.	2,000.	5,000.	1,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	
KASHING	99	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	2,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	15,000.
YEHZAH	126	10,000.	12,000.	5,000.	6,000.	2,500.	3,000.	19,500.	10,500.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	12,000.	14,000.	6,000.	7,000.	3,000.	3,500.	19,500.	10,500.	
HANGCHOW	190	14,000.	18,000.	7,000.	9,000.	3,500.	4,500.	19,500.	10,500.	25,000.

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